ROMÆ ANTIQUÆ DESCRIPTIO.

A View of the

RELIGION, LAWS, CUSTOMS, } MANNERS, and DISPOSITIONS

OF THE ANCIENT ROMANS, And Others:

Comprehended in their most Illustrious

ACTS and SAYINGS Agreeable to HISTORY.

Written in Latine by that famous Historian
QUINTUS VALERIUS MAXIMUS:
And now carefully rendred into English.

Together with the Life of the Author.

LICENSED.

Roger L'Estrange.

LONDON:
Printed by *J. C.* for *Samuel Speed*, and sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*. 1678.

Fab: Maximus

Lycurgus

Cæsar

Alexander

Pyrrhus

Xerxes

Marius

Sylla

Sapio: Africanus

Themistocles

Pompey

Romulus

London printed for Samuel Speed.

To the Right Honourable

HENEAGE Lord *FINCH*,

871
V4.Es

Baron of *Daventry*,

AND

Lord High CHANCELLOR of *England*.

May it pleaſe your Honour,

HAving lately experienc'd the Influences of your Honours Favours, I hold my ſelf in Duty bound to pay my Acknowledgements to the utmoſt of my power; which is, in this Addreſs to declare your Piety and your Bounty: For which reaſons I had been guilty of Injuſtice, had I ſought for any other Patron, being lately ſo generouſly remembred by your Honour. Thus I endeavour to ſhew my Gratitude, though the higheſt Pinacle thereof bears no proportion with the large Pillars of your Honours High Worth and Dignity; well obſerving what is in ancient Story recorded of Lycurgus *the* Lacedemonian *Law-giver, that he ſlighted the making a De-*

A *cree*

1000794

cree againſt Ingratitude, imagining no man could be ſo ſordidly wretched, as to be guilty of that horrid Crime. Wherefore, to pay my Debt in the beſt Coyn I have, I humbly offer this to your Honours Patronage, it being a Collection of the Acts and Sayings of Oratours and States-men; and who can be more fit to receive them than the far-excelling Tully *of our Age? Of whom I may ſay as once the ancient* Roman, Omnium ſomnos tua vigilantia, omnium delicias tua induſtria, omnium vacationem tua occupatio.

May it pleaſe your Honour not to give your Lordſhip any farther trouble; your Acceptance and Pardon is humbly implor'd by

Your Honours
Obedient, Devoted,
and Obliged Servant,

Samuel Speed.

THE

LIFE

OF

VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Valerius Maximus, a Roman Citizen of a *Patrician* Family, ſpent his childhood and youth in the ſtudy of Learning Then coming to be of age, he betook himſelf to the VVars; where he is ſaid to have ſerv'd for ſome time, and to have ſail'd with *Sextus Pompey* into *Aſia*. VVhence returning home, when he found himſelf able to profit his Country by well ſpeaking as well as doing, from which the love of Honour had for ſome time diverted him, he reſolv'd to put forth the Acts and Sayings, the

moſt remarkable, of the Roman City, and of forraign Nations; which he very luckily finiſh'd. He flouriſh'd in the Raign of *Tiberius Cæſar*, and in his time, whoſe Numen he invokes, he wrote this Hiſtory: For the *Roman* Emperours, when by their vertue they had juſtly and uprightly manag'd the Empire, were tranſlated into the number of the Gods, and were call'd *Divi Imperatores*. He deriv'd his Pedigree by the Fathers ſide from the *Valerian* Family; by the Mothers ſide, from the *Fabian*: from both which he obtain'd the name of *Valerius Maximus*. Of his Death there is nothing certain reported.

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE OF THE Contents of the Chapters.

	Page.
A	
Of Abſtinence	167
Of Arts	408
Of Anger	441
B	
Of Baſhfulneſs	181
C	
Of Conſtancie	143
Of Continence	167
Of Conjugal Love	185
Of Clemencie	203
Of Courage at the death of Children	252
Of Chaſtity	256
Of Covetouſneſs	446
Of Cruelty	434
D	
Of Dreams	30
Of Degenerated Births	129
Of the Deſire of Honour	417
Of Deaths not Vulgar	466
Of Deſire of Life	471
E	
Of the Effects of Arts	408
Of Eloquence	403

Eaſe praiſed 402

F

Of Frugality 66
Of Forraign Inſtitutions 69
Of Fortitude 104
Of Friendſhip 189
Of the Fidelity of Servants 291
Of the change of Fortune 295

G

Of Gratitude 214

H

Of Humanity 203
Of Happineſs 304
Of Honour 417
Of Hatred 441

I

Of Innocence 66
Of Illuſtrious men 131
Of Ingratitude 221
Of Juſtice 281
Of publick Judgments 346
Of private Judgments 354
Of Induſtry 363

L

Of Luckie Signes 16
Of Liberality 198
Of Love to Children 244
Of Luxury and Luſt 427
Of Lyers 476

M

Of Miracles 39
Of Matrimonial Ceremonies 52
Of Magiſtrates 56
Of Military Diſcipline 76
Of Majeſty 95
Of Mean Births advanced 125

The Contents of the Chapters.

Of Moderation 152
Of Modesty 181
Of Moderation to suspected children 250
Of the change of Manners 295
Of Memorable old Age 413
Of Motion of the Body 406
Of Magnificent things 421

N

Of Necessity 334

O

Of Omens 18
Of memorable Old age 413

P

Of Prodigies 22
Of Patience 120
Poverty praised 176
Of Piety toward their Country 238
— Towards Parents 218
Of Publick Faith 287
Of Publick Judgments 346
Of Private Judgments 354
Of Pronunciation 406

R

Of Religion 3
Of Feigned Religion 14
Of Forraign Religion 15
Of the Right of Triumphing 86
Of Reconciliation 164
Of Repulses 331
Of Rackings 358
On Revenge 361

S

Of Shews 62
Of the Severity of the Censors 90
Of Self-confidence 133
Of Severity to Children 247

Of

Of Severity 269
Of Stratagems 326
Of Study 363
Of Similitude of Form 474

T

Of Towardliness 101
Of Things freely done 262
——— *Gravely done* 276
Of the Truth of Wives 290
Of Things wisely done 306
——— *Craftily done* 316
Of Testaments confirm'd 342
Of Testimonies 359

W

Of Wills cancell'd 338
Of Women-pleaders 357

Y

Of Yielding to Masters of Art 412

Quintus

Quintus Valerius Maximus

OF

Memorable things.

LIB. I.

The PROLOGUE

TO

AUGUSTUS TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

I Have resolved with my self, to collect together the Deeds and Sayings of most note, and most worthy to be remembred, of the most eminent persons both among the Romans *and other Nations, taken out of the most approved Authors, where they lie scattered at such a distance, that makes them hard to be known; to save them the trouble of a tedious search, who are willing to follow their Examples. Yet I have not been overdesirous to comprehend all: For who in a small Volume is able to set down the Deeds of*

many Ages? Or what wise man can hope to deliver the order of Domestick and Forraign story, which our Predecessors have done in such happy stiles, either with greater care, or more abounding Eloquence? Therefore, Cæsar, *thy Countries onely safety, thee I invoke in the beginning of my Undertaking, whom the consent of Gods and men hath ordain'd the great Commander both of Sea and Land; by whose Divine providence those Vertues, of which I am to discourse, are most favourably cherish'd, Vices most severely punish'd: For if the antient Orators did well to begin from the Omnipotent* Jove, *if the most excellent Poets did always call some particular* Numen *to assist 'um; much the rather does my little Work fly to your protection: For other Gods we adore onely in Opinion, you we behold equal to your Fathers and your Grand-fathers Stars in brightness, whose resplendent Lustres have added not a little to the Ceremonies of our Religion. Others we receive for Gods,* Cæsars *we make such. And because it is my intention to begin with the worship of the Gods, I shall discourse briefly of the nature thereof.*

CHAP.

Chap. I.

Of Religion.

Observed by

1. *The people of* Rome.
2. Lucius Metellus, *High-Prieſt.*
3. Titus Gracchus.
4. *College of Prieſts.*
5. Q. Fabius *Dictator, and* C. Flaminius *Mr. of the Horſe.*
6. Pub. Craſſus *High-prieſt.*
7. *The Diſciple of* Æmilia *the Veſtal Nun.*
8. Marcellus *junior, Conſul.*
9. Lucius Furius Bibaculus.
10. Lucius Albinius.
11. C. Fabius Dorſo.
12. Q. Petillius Spurinus *Prætor.*
13. Lucius Tarquinius *the King.*
14. Marcus Attilius Reguſus.
15. *The* Roman *Senate.*

Neglected by

16. C. Terence Varro.
17. Appius Cæcus, *and the Family of* Potinius.
18. *A* Roman *Souldier, and* Brennus *the Gaul.*
19. P. Turullius *Admiral.*
20. Q. Fulvius Flaccus *Cenſor.*
21. Q. Pleminio *Legat for the Pretor.*

Forraign Examples of Religion obſerv'd or neglected.

1. Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus.
2. Maſſaniſa *King of* Numidia.
3. Dionyſius *the Elder of* Sicilie.
4. Thymaſitheus *Prince of the* Liparitans.
5. *The Souldiers of King* Alexander.
6. Perſeus.
7. Athenians.
8. Diomedon *an* Athenian *Captain.*

Obſerved.

1. Our Anceſtors appointed that the ſet and ſolemn Ceremonies ſhould be ordered by the know-

ledge of the High-Priests; the right Administration of these Ceremonies, and authority for so doing, the observations of the *Augurs*, the Predictions of *Apollo*, should depend upon the Books of the *Sibyls*; but that the mysteries of Wonders should be untolded according to the Rules of the *Hetrurian* Discipline: For by the antient Institutions, when we were to commend any thing to the Gods, we gave our selves to Prayer; when any thing was earnestly to be desired of the Gods, then to Vows; when any thing to be paid, to Thanksgiving; when enquiry after future success was made, to obtain by Request; when any solemn Sacrifice was to be done, to sacrifice: By which means the significations of Wonders and Thunders were likewise discovered.

So great also was the care of our Ancestors, not onely to observe, but to increase Religion, that by decree of Senate, ten of the Sons of the chief men were sent out of their most flourishing and opulent City to the several people of *Hetruria*, to learn the Order and Discipline of Ceremonies.

1. And when they had resolved to worship *Ceres* after the Greek manner, they sent for *Calcitana*, or, as others say, *Calliphimia*, from *Vilia*, which had not yet received the name of a City, to be their Priestess, that they might not want a skilful Governess of the antient Ceremonies of the Goddess: To whom having in the City a most stately Temple dedicated, and being warn'd in the *Sibyls* Books to appease the ancient Goddess *Ceres* in the time of *Gracchus* Tumult, they sent ten persons to *Enna*, where they believed her Sacred Mysteries were first instituted, to make an Atonement for themselves. And many times our Emperours and Commanders having obtained great Victories, have gone themselves to *Pessinuntes*, there to perform their Vows to the Mother of the Gods.

2. *Me-*

2. *Metellus* High-Prieſt, when *Poſthumius* the Conſul, and alſo a Flamin of *Mars*, deſired *Africa* for his Province to make War in, commanded him under a penalty not to depart the City, thereby to deſert his Function; believing that *Poſthumius* could not ſafely adventure himſelf in Martial Combats, when the Ceremonies of *Mars* were neglected.

3. Praiſeworthy was the Reverence of the Twelve, but more to be extoll'd, the obedience of the Twenty four Faſces: for *Titus Gracchus* ſent Letters to the Colledge of *Augurs* out of his Province, by which he gave them to underſtand, that having perus'd certain Books belonging to the Sacred Myſteries of the people, he found that the Tabernacle was erroneouſly taken at the grand Conſular Aſſemblies for Election, which he had caus'd to be made; which thing being reported to the Senate, by command thereof *C. Figulus* returning out of *Gallia*, *Scipio Naſica* from *Corſica*, both laid down their Conſulſhips.

4. For the ſame reaſon, *P. Clœlius* of *Sicilie*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *C. Claudius*, for that the Entrails were leſs reverently brought to the Altars of the Gods than they ought to have been, at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral Wars, were commanded and compelled to leave the Flaminſhip. And becauſe a Bee fell upon the head of *Sulpicius* while he was ſacrificing, he loſt the Prieſthood.

5. The peeping of a Mouſe being overheard, was the reaſon that *Fabius Maximus* quitted the Dictatorſhip, and *C. Flaminius* ceaſed to be Maſter of the Horſe.

6. To this we may add, that *P. Licinius* High-Prieſt thought fit to give the laſh to a Veſtal-Virgin, for that one night ſhe had been negligent of the Holy fire.

7. But *Veſta* her ſelf ſav'd the Hand-maid of *Emilia* the Veſtal, who had let the fire out; for while ſhe

was worshiping, and had laid her Vail which was very rich upon the Hearth, presently the fire caught hold thereof.

8. No wonder then that the indulgence of the Gods was so great in preserving and increasing their Empire: for such a scrupulous care seemed to examine the smallest concernments of Religion, so that our City is to be thought never to have had her eyes off from the most exact worship of the Gods. And therefore when *Marcellus*, five times Consul, having taken *Clastidium*, and after that *Syracuse*, would have in performance of his Vows, erected a Temple to Honour and Vertue: He was opposed by the Colledge of Priests, who deni'd that one Domicil could be rightly dedicated to two Gods. For if any Prodigy should happen, it would remain doubtful to which Deity should be made Address: nor was it the custome to sacrifice at once to two Deities, unless to some in particular. Upon which Admonition of the Priests, *Marcellus* in two several Temples set up the Images of Honour and Vertue; whereby it came to pass, that neither the authority of so great a man was any hindrance to the Colledge, nor the addition of expence any impediment to *Marcellus*, but that all Justice and Observation was given to Religion.

9. *Lucius Furius Bibaculus* hath hardly any Example to parallel him, unless that of *Marcellus*: Nor is he to be deprived of the praise of a most pious and religious minde, who while he was Pretor, being commanded by his Father, Principal of the Colledge of the *Salian* Priests, carried the *Ancilia*, six Lictors going before him; though he might have pleaded an excuse from that duty, by vertue of his place. But our City valued Religion above all things, preferring it before the authority of all soveraign Majesty: therefore their Emperours have not scrupled to obey in Sacred

cred things; believing they ſhould the more eaſily obtain the ſole command of humane things, if they were conſtantly and truly obedient to the Divine power.

10. Which reſolution hath been alſo bred up in the breaſts of private perſons. For when the City was taken by the *Gauls*, and that the Quirinal Flamen and the Veſtal Virgins were forced to carry the Sacred things, taking every one a ſhare of the burthen, having now paſs'd the *Sublician* Bridge, and ready to deſcend the Rock that leads to *Janiculum*; they were ſpied by *Alvanius*, who was driving a Cart wherein he had put his Wife and Children, who no ſooner ſaw them in that condition, but regarding publick Religion more than private Charity, commanded them to alight; and then placing the Holy things, and ordering the Veſtal to get in, he left his own intended Journey, and drave them till he came to the Town of *Cære*; where, becauſe they were curteouſly and reverently received, we teſtifie our thanks, and honour the memory of their Humanity: For thence it came to be inſtituted, that thoſe Sacred Rites were called Ceremonies, becauſe the *Ceretans* worſhipped and obſerved them as well in the low as flouriſhing ſtate of the Commonwealth: And that Mean and Country Cart, on a ſudden the receptacle of ſo much Honour, came to equal, if not out-vie, the glory of a Triumphal Chariot.

11. About the ſame time, memorable was the Example of obſerv'd Religion which *Caius Fabius Dorſo* gave us: for when the *Gauls* beſieged the Capitol, leſt the accuſtomed Sacrifice of the *Fabii* ſhould be put by, clad in a *Gabin* habit, and carrying the Sacred things in his hands and upon his ſhouldiers, he at length paſs'd through the midſt of the Enemy to the Quirinal-Hill, where having performed what was to be done, he returned to the Capitol with Divine Adora-

tion of his victorious Atchievement, as if he had been a Victor indeed.

12. Great also was the care of preserving Religion among our Ancestors, where *Publius Cornelius* and *Bebius Tamphilus* were Consuls: For the Labourers that were digging a Field of *Petillius* the Scribe, at the foot of *Janiculum*, delving somewhat deeper than ordinary, found two little Stone-chests; in one whereof was a Writing, declaring, That it was the body of *Numa Pompilius* Son of *Pomponius*: In the other were seven Books in the Latine Tongue, treating of the right of the High-Priest; and as many in Greek, discoursing of Wisdom. For the preservation of the Latine Books they took especial care; but the Greek one, (for there seemed to be some things therein prejudicial to their Religion) *Lucius Petillius* the Pretor by decree of Senate caus'd to be burnt in a publick Fire made by the Officers belonging to the Sacrifices: for the antient *Romans* could not endure that any thing should be reserved in the City, which might be a means to draw the minds of men from the worship of the Gods.

13. *Tarquinius* the King caus'd *Marcus Tullius* the *Duumvir* to be sow'd in a Sack after the antient manner, and to be thrown into the Sea, for that he had for a Bribe delivered to *Petronius Sabinus* a certain Book containing the Mysteries of the Civil Sacred things committed to his keeping. Most justly, seeing that violation of Trust deserves the same punishment among men, as from the Gods.

14. But as to those things which concern the Observation of Religion, I know not whether *Atilius Regulus* have not excelled all that ever went before him, who of a famous Conquerour being now become a Captive, through the wiles and ambushments of *Hannibal* and *Xantippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, he was sent

ſent to the Senate and people of *Rome*, to try if he could get himſelf, being but one, and old, redeemed for ſeveral young and noble *Carthaginians*; who when he came, adviſed the Senate to the contrary, and went back to *Carthage*, well knowing to what cruel and inveterate Enemies he returned; but he had ſworn ſo to do, if he could not obtain the releaſe of their Captives. Surely the Immortal Gods had reaſon to have mitigated their fury; but that the glory of *Atilius* might be the greater, they permitted the *Carthagians* to take their own inhumane courſes: As they who in the third *Punick* War would ſeverely recompence the death of ſo noble a Soul with the deſtruction of their City.

15. How much more religious toward the Gods did our Senate ſhew themſelves? which after the fatal overthrow of *Cannæ*, decreed that no women ſhould mourn longer than thirty days, to the end the Rites of *Ceres* might be by them performed. For now the greateſt part of the men lying ſlain upon the bloody accurſed Earth, there was no Family in the City that did not partake of the general Calamity. And therefore the Mothers and Daughters, Wives and Siſters of the ſlain were compelled to put off their Mourning-weeds, and put on their White-garments, and to perform the office of Prieſts. Through which conſtancy of obſerving Religion, forc'd the Deities themſelves to bluſh, and be aſhamed of raging any more againſt ſuch a Nation, that could not be drawn from adoring them that with ſo much cruelty deſtroy'd them.

NEGLECTED.

16. It is believ'd, that the reaſon why *Varro* fought with ſo much ill ſucceſs at *Cannæ* againſt the *Carthaginians*, was through the wrath of *Juno*: for when he made pub-

publick the *Circenſian* Games, being Ædil, he ſet a young Player of extraordinary beauty to watch in the Temple of *Jupiter:* which Fact being call'd to mind after ſome years, was expiated with Sacrifices.

17. *Hercules* alſo is reported to have very ſeverely revenged the abuſe of his Worſhip: for when the Family of the *Potitii* had intruſted his Ceremonies, the Miniſtry whereof belonged to them as it were by inheritance, to be performed by ſervants and perſons of mean degree, of which *Appius* the Cenſor was the occaſion; all the flower of the Family, who were above thirty young men, di'd within the ſpace of one year; and the Name of the *Potitii*, that was branch'd into twelve Families, was almoſt extinct; *Appius* alſo the Cenſor was ſtricken blinde.

18. A ſharp Revenger alſo was *Apollo*, of an injury done to himſelf, who at the Sack of *Carthage* being ſpoil'd of his Robe of Gold, never ceas'd till the hands of the ſacrilegious Souldier were found cut off among the broken pieces of his Image. *Brennus*, Captain of the *Gauls*, entering into the Temple of *Delphos*, by Deſtiny was compelled to lay violent hands upon himſelf.

19. Nor was his Son *Æſculapius* a leſs violent Revenger of contemned Religion, who not enduring to behold a Wood conſecrated to his Temple cut down by *Turullius* to build Ships for the uſe of *M. Antonie*, by a ſtrange power ſo ordered it, that *Turullius* was by the command of *Cæſar*, being judged to death while he was in the midſt of his buſineſs, executed in the very Wood: And ſo the God ordain'd it, that being there remarkably ſlain by *Cæſar*'s Souldiers, that with the ſame death he expiated the loſs of thoſe Trees that were cut down, and ſecured the ſafety of thoſe that were ſtanding.

20. Nor did Q. *Fulvius Flaccus* go unpuniſhed, who

who in his Cenſorſhip tranſlated the Marble Tiles from the Temple of *Lacinian Juno* to the Fane of *Fortuna Equeſtris*, which he was then building at *Rome*: for he no ſooner had done it, but he fell mad, and for very grief expired, hearing that of his two Sons, both Souldiers in *Illyria*, one of them was dead, the other ſlain; by whoſe miſhap the Senate being warned, ordered the Tiles to be carried back to *Locri*.

21. Much after the ſame manner did they puniſh the covetouſneſs of *Q. Pliminius*, Legate to *Scipio*, in robbing the Treaſure of *Proſerpina*: for when he was brought in Fetters to *Rome*, before he could come to his Tryal, he died in Priſon of a moſt filthy Diſeaſe. The Goddeſs, by command of the Senate, had not onely her Money reſtored, but double the ſum.

Forraign Examples of Religion, obſerved or neglected.

1. As to the Fact of *Pleminius*, it was well puniſh'd by the Conſcript Fathers. But againſt the ſordid Violencies of King *Pyrrhus*, the Goddeſs her ſelf defended her ſelf well enough: for the *Locri* being compelled to give him money out of her Treaſury, while he was ſailing upon the Sea laden with his impious Prey, by force of a mighty Tempeſt his whole Navy was caſt away upon the ſhoar adjoyning to the ſaid City; where the money being found entire, was reſtored to the moſt ſacred Treaſury of the Goddeſs.

2. But the Act of *Maſſaniſa* was of another nature, whoſe Admiral having landed in *Melita*, and taken out of the Fane of *Juno* certain Ivory-teeth of an immenſe proportion, and given them as a Preſent to the King; *Maſſaniſa* no ſooner underſtood from whence they came, but he commanded them to be carried back in a Galley with five Oars, and put in the place whence

whence they were taken, having caus'd certain Words to be carved upon them, signifying that the King had taken them ignorantly, and willingly restored them.

3. *Dionysius*, born at *Syracuse*, us'd to make Jests of his Sacriledges, of which he committed more than we have now room to recount: for having plundered the Temple of *Juno* at *Locri*, and sailing upon the Sea with a prosperous gale, laughing to his friends, he said, *What a pleasant Voyage have the Gods granted to us Sacrilegious Robbers!* Having taken also a Cloak of Massie gold from *Jupiter Olympian*, which *Hiero* the Tyrant had dedicated to him out of the spoils of the *Carthaginians*; and throwing over the Statue a Woollen-mantle, told his Companions, *That a Cloak of Gold was too heavy in the Summer, too cold in the Winter; but a Woollen Cloak would serve for both Seasons.* The same person commanded the Golden beard of *Esculapius* to be taken from his Statue in his Temple at *Epidaurum*, saying, *It was not convenient for* Apollo *the Father to be without a Beard, and the Son to have so large a one.* He also took away the Silver and Golden Tables out of other Temples, where finding certain Inscriptions, after the manner of *Greece*, that they belonged to the good Gods, then said he, *Through their goodness we will make use of them.* He also took away the little Statues of Victory, Cups and Crowns which they held in their hands being all of Gold, saying, *He did but borrow them, not take um quite away:* saying, *It was an idle thing, when we pray to the Gods for good things, not to accept um when they hold um forth to us.* Who in his own person though he were not rewarded according to his deserts, yet in the infamy of his Son, he suffered after death what in his life-time he had escaped.

4. For the avoiding whereof, *Timasitheus* Prince of the *Liparitans* by his wisdom provided for his own and

and his Countries ſafety: for when certain of his Subjects, uſing Pyracy, had taken a Golden cup of a very great weight, and that the people were gathered together to divide the ſpoil, underſtanding that it was conſecrated to *Apollo Pythian* in lieu of their Tenths by the *Romans*, he took it from them, and carefully ſent it to *Delphos*.

5. *Miliſian Ceres*, when *Miletum* was taken by *Alexander*, and that ſeveral Souldiers were broken into the Temple to plunder it, on a ſudden depriv'd them all of their ſight.

6. The *Perſians* coming to *Delos* with a Navy of a thouſand Ships, behaved themſelves more irreligiouſly than rapaciouſly toward the Temple.

7. The *Athenians* baniſh'd *Diagoras* the Philoſopher, becauſe he adventured to affirm that he knew not whether there were any Gods or no; or if there were any, of what nature they were. They alſo condemned *Socrates*, becauſe he endeavoured to introduce a new Religion. They endured *Phidias* when he affirmed that it was better to make the Statue of *Minerva* of Marble rather than of Ivory, by reaſon it was more laſting; but when he added, that it was alſo cheaper, they commanded him ſilence.

8. *Diomedon*, one of the ten Captains who at *Arginuſa* won a great Victory to the *Athenians*, but to himſelf the reward of Condemnation; being now led to his undeſerved Execution, ſpake nothing elſe, but onely that the Vows which he had made for the ſafety of the Army might be performed.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Feigned Religion.

ROMANS.	FORRAIGNERS.
1. *Numa Pompilius.*	1. *Minos* King of *Crete.*
2. *P. Scip. African* the greater.	2. *Pisistratus, Athenian.*
3. *L. Cor. Sulla.*	3. *Lycurgus, Spartan.*
4. *Q. Sertorius.*	4. *Zaleucus* of *Locri.*

1. NUma *Pompilius*, that he might oblige his people to the observance of Holy things, feigned to have familiarity by night with the Goddess *Egeria*; and that by her direction onely, the Worship of the Gods which he propos'd was instituted.

2. *Scipio*, sirnamed the *African*, never went about any private or publick business, till he had been for some while in the Fane of *Jupiter Capitoline*; and was therefore thought to have been begot by *Jove*.

3. *Lucius Sulla*, when he resolved to give Battel, embracing a little Image of *Apollo*, which was taken out of the Temple of *Delphos*, in the sight of all his Souldiers, desired the Deity to bring to pass what he had promised.

4. *Q. Sertorius* had a tame white Hart, which he taught to follow him over all the cragged Mountains of *Lusitania*, by which he feigned himself instructed what to do, or what not.

FORRAIGN.

1. *Minos* King of *Crete* was wont to retire himself

ſelf every ninth year into a deep and antiently-conſecrated Den; and there ſtaying ſome time, brought forth new Laws, which he there feigned were delivered to him by *Jupiter*.

2. *Piſiſtratus*, to recover the Tyranny of *Athens*, which he had loſt, made as if *Minerva* her ſelf had led him into the Caſtle; deceiving the *Athenians* by ſhewing an unknown woman who was called *Phya*, in the habit of *Minerva*.

3. *Lycurgus* perſwaded the people that the Laws which he compos'd for the grave City of *Lacedæmon*, were made by the counſel of *Apollo*.

4. *Zaleucus*, in the name of *Minerva*, was accounted the wiſeſt man among the *Locrians*.

CHAP. III.

Of Forraign Religion rejected.

1. *By the* Roman *people*. 3. Lucius Emilius Paulus.
2. P. Cornelius *the Prætor*.

1. THE new Cuſtom which was introduced among the Feaſts of *Bacchus*, when it grew to Madneſs, was quite taken away. *Lutatius*, who finiſhed the firſt *Punick* War, was forbid by the Senate to go to *Preneſte* to conſult Fortune; judging it meet that the Affairs of the Commonwealth ſhould be governed by their own national Omens, and not thoſe of Forraign Countries.

2. *C. Cornelius Hiſpallus*, a forraign Prætor, in the time that *Popilius Lænas* and *M. Calpurnius* were Conſuls, by Edict commanded the *Caldeans* to depart out of *Italy*, who by their trivial tricks, and falſe inter-

terpretations of the Stars, cast a gainful Mist before their eyes.

3. The same person banished those who with a counterfeit worship of *Jupiter Sabazius* sought to corrupt the *Roman* Customs.

Lucius Emilius Paulus the Consul, when the Senate had decreed that the Temples of *Isis* and *Serapis* should be destroyed, and that none of the Workmen durst lay hands upon the Work, laying his Consular habit aside, and taking a Hatchet, was the first that broke open the Gates.

CHAP. IV.

Of Luckie Signes.

Which the ROMANS took.

1. Atius Navus *the Augur.*
2. T. Gracchus, *Son of* Titus *Tribune.*
3. P. Claudius Pulcher, *and* L. Jun. Pullus. *Consul.*
4. Lucius Metellus *High-priest.*
5. M. Tullius Cicero.
6. M. Junius Brutus *Proconsul.*

FORRAIGN.

1. Alexander *the Great.*
2. *King* Dejotarus.

1. *Lucius Tarquinius* the King having a minde to adde other Troops of Horse to the Troops which *Romulus* had fortunately enroll'd, being opposed by the Augur, in a great fury asked him, *If that which he thought of might be done?* Who answering, *That it might*, the King commanded him to cleave a Whet-stone with a Razor, which was no sooner brought, but *Atius* by an incredible act, made the King admire the Effect of his Profession.

2. Ti-

2. *Titus Gracchus* designing Tumult and Sedition, sought for Lucky Signes at home; which fell out very sad, and contrary to his Expectation: for as he was going out of doors, he stumbled in such sort, that he broke one of his Toes. Then three Crows cawing on the wrong side, let fall a piece of a Tile just before him: But he contemning all these Signes, and being expelled the Capitol by *Scipio Nasica* the High-priest, was knock'd on the head with a piece of Chair of State.

3. *P. Claudius*, in the first *Punick* War, being ready to joyn Battel, yet being willing to know the Signes after the old Custome, when he that kept the Birds told him that the Chickens would not come out of the Penns, commanded them to be cast into the Sea, saying, *If they will not eat, let um drink*; together with *Junius* his Colleague, lost the *Roman* Navy for neglecting the Lucky Signes: Of which two, one fell by the Sentence of the People, the other prevented the ignominy of Condemnation by killing himself.

4. *Metellus* the High-priest travelling for *Tusculanum*, two Crows flew directly toward his face, as if they went to stop his journey, yet hardly prevail'd with him to return. The next night the Temple of *Vesta* was burnt, and *Metellus* sav'd the *Palladium* out of the fire.

5. *M Cicero* had his death foretold by an unlucky Signe: for being at the Village of *Cajeta*, a Crow strook off the Gnomon of a Sun-dial before his face, and by and by flying toward him, held him by the hem of his Garment, till his Servants came and told him that certain Souldiers were come to kill him.

6. *M. Brutus* having rallied the remains of his Army against *Cæsar* and *Antonius*, two Eagles flew, one from one Camp, and the other from the other, and encountring one another, the Eagle which came out of *Brutus* Camp being worsted, fled.

FORRAIGN.

1. *Alexander* being about to build a City in *Egypt*, *Diocrates* the Architect for want of Chalk laid out the ſtreets with Meal: By and by a vaſt number of Birds from the next Lake, devoured the Meal; of which the *Egyptian* Prieſts made this Interpretation, *That that City ſhould in time afford great ſtore of Proviſion to Strangers.*

2. King *Dejotarus*, who was very proſperous in his Actions, was preſerv'd by the ſight of an Eagle: for ſeeing the place whence ſhe came out, he would by no means go in there; and the houſe fell the next night equal with the ground.

CHAP. V.

Of Omens.

Which the ROMANS took.

1. *The Fathers Conſcript.*
2. M. Furius Camillus *Dictator.*
3. L. Æmilius Paulus *Conſul.*
4. Cæcilia Metelli.
5. C. Marius *in Exile.*
6. Cn. Pompeius *Pro-Conſul.*
7. M. Brutus *Pro-Conſul.*
8. C. Caſſius *Pro-Conſul.*
9. Q. Petillius *Conſul.*

FORRAIGN.

1. *The* Prienians.
2. Apolloniates.

THe obſervation of Omens is founded upon a certain touch of Religion, as depending not upon any fortuitous Chance, but upon Divine Providence.

1. Where-

1. Whereby it came to paſs, that when the City was deſtroyed by the *Gauls*, and the Senate was conſulting whether they ſhould remove to *Veii*, or rebuild their own Walls, ſome Cohorts returning from Garriſon, a Centurion crying out in the place for publick Aſſemblies to his Eagle-bearer, *Fix your Enſigne, we'll ſtay here in good time:* the Senate hearing his voice, took it for a good Omen, and left off their deſigne of going for *Veii*. In how few words was the Domicil of the future Empire of the World deſigned? The Gods diſdaining that the *Roman* Name ſprung from happy Omens, ſhould change its Seat, or that the glory of Victory it ſelf ſhould lie buried in the Ruines of a City already neer decay'd.

2. The Author of this moſt famous Work, *Camillus*, while he was praying, that if the happineſs of the people of *Rome* ſeemed to any of the Gods to be too great, that they would ſatisfie their Envy by any miſchief done to himſelf, at the end of his Prayer ſuddenly ſtumbling fell down; which Omen is thought to have related to the Condemnation which he afterwards underwent. But deſervedly did Victory and the Prayers of this great man ſtrive together for praiſe: nor was the ſtriſe of his Vertue leſs, that he increaſed the good fortune of his Country, wiſhing all its evil fortune might fall upon his own head.

3. How memorable was that which befel *L. Paulus* the Conſul! who being by lot deſigned to make War with *Perſeus* King of *Macedon*, in his return to his houſe met his youngeſt Daughter at the door, and obſerving her to look ſomething ſad, kiſs'd her, and demanded the cauſe of her diſcontent; who anſwered, That *Perſa* was dead: that was the name of a little Dog which ſhe highly eſteemed, which di'd a little before. *Paulus* laid hold of the Omen, and upon a fortuitous ſaying, built the hopes of his future Triumphs.

4. But *Cecilia* the Wife of *Metellus*, when her Sisters Daughter required after the antient custom those Nuptial-Rites due to a Virgin of ripe years, gave occasion to the Omen her self: for the Virgin having staid in a certain Chappel for that purpose, and hearing no body speak to her minde, wearied with long standing, she desired of her Aunt to let her have some place to sit down; to whom her Aunt repli'd, *I freely give thee my Seat:* Which saying proceeding out of kindness, prov'd ominous in the Event; for not long after *Cecilia* dying, *Metellus* married the Virgin of whom we speak.

5. The observation of Omens was certainly the preservation of *Caius Marius*, at what time he was adjudged an Enemy by the Senate, lying at the house of one *Fannia* at *Minturnæ* for his security: For he observed an Ass-colt when he gave him Meat, that neglecting that, he ran still to the water. At which sight thinking that what was now offered by the Providence of the Gods, was to be followed, being himself otherwise very skilful in Religious Interpretations, he desired of the Multitude that came to his aid, that he might be conducted to the Sea: and so getting aboard a little Ship, he sailed into *Africk*, and so avoided the Victorious Arms of *Sylla*.

6. *Pompey* the Great at the Battel of *Pharsalia* being overthrown by *Cæsar*, and seeking to save himself by flight, directed his Course to the Island of *Cyprus*, to gather more Forces there; and approaching the City of *Paphos*, and viewing a stately Edifice, he asked the Pilot the name of it; who answering, That it was called *Kings Evil*, presently lost all that little hope which he had remaining: nor could he dissemble it; turning his head another way, and weeping, betray'd the grief which he conceived from so dire an Omen.

7. To *M. Brutus* an Event befitting the Murther which

which he had committed, was designed him by an Omen: For after that wicked deed, as he was celebrating his Birth-day, and studying for some convenient Greek Verse, by accident he pitched upon one in *Hom.*

Me cruel Fate and Son of fair Latona *slew.*

Which God being by *Cæsar* and *Antonius* given for the Signe, seemed as it were to be the occasion of his overthrow.

8. With such a strange Ejaculation, the Fortune of *Cassius* amazed his ears, who when the *Rhodians* begg'd of him that they might not be deprived of all the Images of the Gods, made answer, That he had left the Sun: for having lost the Field in *Macedon*, he was not onely forced to leave the Effigies of the Sun, which he had granted them as suppliants, but also the Sun it self.

9. Worthy of remark is that Omen under which *Petillius* fell in the *Ligurian* War: for being to assail a Mountain that was called *Letbo*, he boasted in his Exhortation to his Souldiers, saying, *This day I will take* Lethum *or* Hell: And fighting inconsiderately, confirmed by his death the truth of his fortuitous Speech.

FORRAIGN.

1. To our own, we may adde two Forraign Examples of the same nature. The *Samians* when the *Priennenses* sent to them for aid against the *Carians*, instead of Ships and Men, puffed with Arrogance, sent them a little Skiff; which the *Samians* interpreting as an Aid sent from Heaven, willingly received, and by a true Prediction of the Fates, found her to be the Captain of the Victory.

2. Nor did the *Apolloniates* repent; for being preſs'd by the *Illyrian* War, and craving aid of the *Epidamnians*, they anſwered, *That they would lend the River Æas, running by the Walls, to their aſſiſtance.* They replied, *We accept your Gift:* and ſo gave the River the firſt place in the Army, as to their Captain. After which having unexpectedly vanquiſh'd their Enemies, attributing the ſucceſs to the accepting the Omen, thenceforward they ſacrificed to *Æas* as a God, and made him their Captain in all their Battels.

CHAP. VI.

Of Prodigies.

Which fell out among the ROMANS.

1. *To* Servius Tullius.
2. Lucius Marcius *Centurion.*
3. *People of* Rome *and* Veientines.
4. L. Sulla *Pro-Conſul.*
5. *The people of* Rome *at divers times.*
6. C. Flaminius *Conſul.*
7. C. Hoſtilius Mancinus.
8. T. Gracchus *Pro-Conſul.*
9. M. Claudius Marcellus *Conſul.*
10. Cn. Octavius.
11. M. Licinius Craſſus, *Pro-Conſul.*
12. Cn. Pompey *the Great.*
13. Julius Cæſar *Dictator.*

FORRAIGN.

1. Xerxes *King of* Perſia.
2. Midas *King of* Phrygia, *an Infant.*
3. Plato *the Philoſopher, an Infant.*

OF Prodigies alſo, whether proſperous or unlucky, it is no way from our purpoſe to diſcourſe.

1. While *Servius Tullius* was an Infant and aſleep, his Attendants beheld a flame upon his head; which Prodigy *Tanaquil* the Wife of *Tarquinius Priſcus* admiring,

miring, ſhe brought up *Servius*, who was the Son of a Servant, inſtead of her own Son, and advanced him to the Throne.

2. Equal happineſs in Event did that flame promiſe which blaz'd upon the head of *Lucius Marcius*, Captain of the two Armies, which the deaths of *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*'s had much weakned in *Spain*, while he was ſpeaking to his Souldiers: for upon the ſight of that, the Souldiers before fearful, now encouraged to recover their wonted Fortitude, with the ſlaughter of 38000 men, and a great number of Priſoners, they took two Camps of the *Carthaginians* crammed with ſpoil.

3. Alſo when after a long and ſharp War the *Veii* could not be taken, though beſieg'd within their own Walls, and that the delay was no leſs terrible to the beſiegers than the beſieged, the Gods themſelves open'd the way to an unexpected Victory: for on a ſudden the Lake *Albanus*, neither augmented by any ſhowers, nor aſſiſted by the inundation of any other Stream, roſe far above its uſual hight. To know the reaſon whereof, Meſſengers were ſent to the Oracle at *Delphos*, who brought for anſwer, *That they ſhould let the waters that over-ſwelled the Lake into the Fields: For ſo the* Veii *would come into the power of the* Romans. Which before the Meſſengers could bring back, a Southſayer of the *Veii*, taken by one of our Souldiers and brought into the Camp, had alſo declared; ſo that the Senate doubly admoniſhed, both obey'd the Gods, and got poſſeſſion of the City.

4. Nor was this which follows an Omen of bad ſucceſs: *Lucius Sulla* Pro-Conſul in the Confederate War, while he was ſacrificing before the *Pretorium* in the Country of *Nolas*, on a ſudden beheld a Snake glide from the lower part of the Altar; at the ſight whereof, by the advice of *Poſthumus* the Southſayer, he led forth his Army, and

got the ſtrong Camp of the *Samnites*: which Victory was the firſt foundation and ſtep to his future greatneſs.

5. Chiefly to be admired are thoſe Prodigies which hapned in our City, *P. Volumnius* and *Ser. Sulpitius* being Conſuls. An Ox his Lowing being chang'd into Humane Speech, exerciſed the minds of all people with the ſtrangeneſs of the Accident. Little pieces of Fleſh alſo fell like ſhowers of Rain from the Sky, of which a great part was devoured by the Birds; the reſt lay many days upon the ground, neither offenſive to the ſmell, nor irkſome to the ſight:

At the beginning of another Tumult, Monſters of the ſame nature were to be ſeen. A Childe of half a year old in the Cow-market, proclaimed a Triumph. Another Childe was born with an Elephants head.

In *Picenum* it rain'd Stones. In *Gaul* a Woolf came and took a Sword out of the Centinels Scabbard. Bloody Ears of Corn dropt among the Sheaves, as men were reaping neer *Antium*. The Waters of *Cerite* were mix'd with Bloud. And before the ſecond *Punick* War, an Ox was heard to ſpeak, *Look to thy ſelf, O* Rome.

6. *Caius Flaminius* being inauſpiciouſly made Conſul, when he was preparing to fight with *Hannibal* at the Lake of *Thraſymene*, commanded the Enſignes to be taken up, when immediately his Horſe ſtumbling, he was thrown to the ground and pitched upon his head: and nothing regarding this Prodigy, when the Enſigne-bearers told him they could not ſtir the Enſignes, threatned to puniſh um if they did not dig um out. But of this raſhneſs of his, would onely he himſelf, and not the whole people of *Rome* had felt the doleful ſucceſs: for in that Battel 15000 *Romans* were ſlain, 6000 taken, and 20000 put to flight. The headleſs body of the Conſul, *Hannibal* ſought for, to have

have buried it, who had done what in him lay to bury the *Roman* Empire.

7. The headlong obstinacy of *Caius Flaminius*, *C. Hostilius Mancinus* followed with a vain obstinacy, to whom these Prodigies hapned as he was going Consul for *Spain*. Being resolv'd to sacrifice at *Lavinium*, the Pullets being let out of the Bin, flew to the neighbouring Wood, and though sought for with all diligence imaginable, could never be found: And when he was about to go abroad in the Port of *Hercules*, whither he went afoot, he heard a strange Voice, crying, *Stay*, Mancinus: With which affrighted, and in his return putting into *Genoa*, and there going aboard a little Boat, a Snake of a prodigious bigness appeared, and suddenly vanished out of sight. Which three Prodigies he equalled with the number of Calamities which befell him; an unfortunate Battel, a shameful Truce, and a most dismal Surrender.

8. The sad Event of *Gracchus*, a most dangerous Citizen, who being an inconsiderate person, and being forewarn'd, would take no advice or counsel, makes his rashness less to be wondered at: For when being Pro-Consul, he was sacrificing among the *Lucans*, two Snakes on a sudden creeping out of some hidden place, having eaten the Liver of the Beast which he had sacrificed, retir'd to their lurking holes. And whereas by reason of this accident the Sacrifice was renew'd, the same Prodigy happen'd again. The third Sacrifice being slain, and the Entrails more diligently lookt to, neither could the Serpents be driven away when they came, nor be hinder'd in their flight; which though as the Southsayers affirm'd, it signified that the General was to be careful of his own safety, yet was not *Gracchus* so careful, but that by the treachery of *Flavius*, at whose house he lay, he was drawn to a place where *Mago* hid himself with an armed power, who slew him naked and without defence. 9. The

9. The misfortune of the Conſuls, equal Errour, and an end not differing from that of *Titus Gracchus*, draws me to the memory of *Marcellus*. He inflam'd with the glory of having taken *Syracuſe*, and firſt of any driven *Hannibal* from the Walls of *Nola*, having reſolv'd either to overthrow the *Carthaginians*, or at leaſt to drive um out of *Italy*; and to that end purpoſing with a moſt ſolemn Sacrifice to inquire into the will and pleaſure of the Gods; The firſt Beaſt that was ſlain before the fire, the Liver was found without a head; the next had a Liver with a double head: which being view'd, the Southſayer with a ſad countenance ſaid, *That the Entrails did not pleaſe him:* the firſt were altogether bad, the ſecond were not ſo good. Thus *Marcellus* being admoniſh'd not to do any thing raſhly, the next night adventuring to go out with a few men to view the Enemies Camp, environ'd by a multitude of his Enemies in the Country of the *Brutii*, by his death occaſion'd much ſorrow and detriment to his Country.

10. As for *Octavius* the Conſul, as he feared a moſt direful Omen, ſo he could not avoid it; for finding the head of the Image of *Apollo* broken, and ſo pitch'd in the ground that it could not be pull'd up, being at that time in Arms againſt his Colleague *Cinna*, he from thence prognoſticated his own ruine; in the midſt of which fear he came to a ſad end, and then the fix'd head of the Image was eaſily ſet in its place.

11. Nor muſt we paſs over in ſilence *Marcus Craſſus*, who is to be reckon'd one of the greateſt loſſes of our Empire, who was warn'd by many and moſt remarkable blows of Fate, before ſo great a ruine.

As he was drawing his Army out of *Carræ* againſt the *Parthians*, he had a mourning Garment brought him; whereas they ſhould have brought him either a white or a purple Robe, when he was going to battle.

The

The Souldiers march'd ſad and ſilent to their places, whereas they were wont to run with loud acclamations: One of the Eagles could ſcarcely be pull'd up out of the ground; the other being pull'd up, turn'd it ſelf the quite contrary way to which it ought to have been carried. Theſe Prodigies were very great, but the Calamities of the overthrow were far greater; the ſlaughter of ſo many fair Legions, ſo many Enſignes, ſo much of the glory and beauty of the *Roman* Militia trodden to the ground by the Horſe-men of the *Barbarians*, hopeful Young men beſprinkled with the bloud of their Parents, and the body of their Commander among the promiſcuous heaps of the Slain, thrown a common Prey to the Fowls of the air. I wiſh I could ſpeak what were more delightful; I relate the truth. Thus the Gods contemn'd, become furious in their Anger; thus the Counſels of men are chaſtized, when they think to outbrave Celeſtial Admoniſhments.

12. For the mighty *Jove* had abundantly warn'd *Cn. Pompey*, that he ſhould not try the utmoſt hazard of War with *Cæſar*, caſting his Lightning full in the faces of his Battalions marching from *Dyrrachium*, covering his Enſigns with ſwarms of Bees, affrighting his whole Army with Nocturnal Terrours, and the flight of the Sacrifices from the Altars: But the Laws of invincible neceſſity would not ſuffer a mind, otherwiſe remote enough from folly, to weigh thoſe Prodigies with a due conſideration. And therefore while he extols his large Power, his Wealth above private uſe, and all thoſe Ornaments which from his Youth he had contracted even to Envy, in the ſpace of one day he loſt um all. In the Temples of the Gods, the Statues turn'd of themſelves. Such a noiſe of men ſhouting, ſuch clattering of Arms, was heard at *Antiochia* and *Ptolemais*, that the Souldiers ran to the Walls:

Such

Such a noiſe of Drums in the moſt ſecret places of *Pergamus*: in the Temple of Victory a Palm ſuddenly ſprang up under the Statue of *Ceſar*, in the Pavement between the Stones. Whereby it is plain that the Gods did favour *Ceſar*, and fain would have recover'd *Pompey* out of his Errour.

13. To thy Altars and moſt Holy Temples I addreſs my ſelf, moſt Divine *Julius*, that thou would'ſt favourably ſuffer the falls of ſo many great men to lie hid under the defence and tuition of thy Example: for we read that thou, the ſame day thou ſat'ſt in the Golden Seat clothed with Purple, that thou might'ſt not ſeem to have deſpiſed the honours which the Senate had with ſo much diligence deſigned, and with ſo much duty offered, before thou would'ſt publickly ſhew thy wiſh'd-for preſence to the people, didſt ſpend ſome time in that religious worſhip which was ſhortly to be given to thee; and offering a fat Ox which wanted a heart, the Southſayer told thee, the Omen concern'd thy life, and care of thy own preſervation: Then was that Murther committed by thoſe perſons, who while they ſought to raviſh thee from the number of Men, tranſlated thee to the number of the Gods.

FORRAIGN.

Let us conclude the Domeſtick Relation of ſuch Prodigies with this Example, leſt by dilating farther upon thoſe of the *Romans*, I ſhould ſeem to transfer diſagreeing Cuſtoms from the Temples of the Gods to private Habitations: I ſhall therefore touch upon Forraign Preſidents, which being related in Latine, as they are of leſs authority, yet they bring with them ſomething of a grateful variety.

1. In the Army of *Xerxes* which he had amaſſed up againſt *Greece*, a Mare is ſaid to have brought forth a Hare

Hare, before the Army had yet paſs'd the Mountain *Athos*: by which kind of monſtrous birth, the event of ſuch vaſt preparations was plainly ſhewed: For he that had covered the Sea with his Fleets, the Land with his Armies, was forc'd, like the moſt timorous Animal, with ſhameful flight to recover his own Kingdom.

Before he had ruin'd *Athens*, while he was adviſing how to invade *Lacedæmon*, a moſt wonderful Prodigy hapned while he was at ſupper: For the Wine being poured forth into the Cup, more than once, twice, or thrice, nay a fourth time, was changed into Blood. Whereupon the *Magi* being conſulted, adviſed him to deſiſt from his purpoſe. And had he had the leaſt footſtep of Reaſon in his vain breaſt, he might have prevented his ruine, being ſo often warn'd to take heed of *Leonidas* and the *Spartans*.

2. While *Midas*, to whoſe Scepter all *Phrygia* once was ſubject, was a child, a company of Ants laid a heap of Wheat in his mouth as he lay aſleep. His Parents deſiring to know what the meaning of the Prodigy ſhould be, the Augurs anſwered, That he ſhould be the richeſt of all men: Nor was the Prediction vain; for *Midas* exceeded all the Princes of his time, in plenty of Gold and Silver.

3. I ſhould have by right and deſervedly preferr'd *Plato*'s Bees before *Midas*'s Emmets; for they were onely Prognoſtications of frail and fading, theſe of ſolid and eternal Felicity; while they brought Honey and laid it upon the lips of the little Infant, ſleeping in his Cradle. Which thing being reported, the Interpreters of Prodigies declared, *That a moſt ſingular grace of Utterance ſhould hereafter drop from his mouth.* But to me thoſe Bees, not bred upon *Hymettus* cover'd with fragrant flowers of *Thyme*, but on the verdant *Heliconian* Hills of the Muſes, flouriſhing with all ſorts of learning, ſeem'd to diſtil into his mouth the ſweeteſt nouriſhment of Eloquence.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Dreams.

Of the ROMANS.	FORRAIGN.
1. Artorius *Physician to* Augustus.	1. Annibal.
2. Calpurnia.	2. Alexander.
3. P. Decii, T. Manlii *Consul.*	3. Simonides.
4. *Of* T. Atinius.	4. Crœsus.
5. Cicero *in Exile.*	5. Cyrus.
6. C. Sempronius Gracchus.	6. Himera.
7. Cassius Parmensis.	7. *The Mother of* Dion. *Tyrant.*
8. Arterius Rufus *a Roman Knight.*	8. Amilcar.
	9. Alcibiades.
	10. *An* Arcadian.

NOw because I have touched upon the Riches of *Midas*, and the Eloquence of *Plato*, I will shew you how the quiet and safety of many men has been shadowed out under several representations.

1. And where shall I sooner begin, than from the most sacred memory of Divine *Augustus*? His Physician *Artorius* being asleep, the night before the day wherein the *Romans* fought one against the other in the fields of *Philippi*, the appearance of *Minerva* admonish'd him to warn *Augustus*, then lying very ill, that notwithstanding his sickness he should not abstain from the Battel: Which *Cæsar* hearing, caus'd himself to be carried in a Litter into the Field, where, while he laboured above his strength for the Victory, his Camp was taken by *Brutus*. What other can we think then

last

but the Divine Benevolence ſo ordain'd it, that a perſonage deſtined to immortality, ſhould not be ſubject to a Fate unworthy his Divinity?

2. Nor was it onely the Dream of *Artorius* that gave warning to *Auguſtus*, who had a natural perſpicacity and vigour to judge of every thing, as a freſh and domeſtick Preſident: For he had heard that *Calpurnia* the Wife of his Parent *Julius*, the laſt night that he lived upon earth, dream'd that ſhe ſaw her Husband lie ſtabbed and bleeding in her boſom; and being affrighted with the ſtrangeneſs of the Dream, was an earneſt ſuiter to him to abſtain from going to the Senate the next day: but he, leſt he ſhould have been thought to have been mov'd with a womans dream, went the rather to the Senate-houſe, where the Murtherers quickly laid violent hands upon him. It is not needful to make any compariſon between the Father and the Son, both equal in their Divinity: for the one had made way for himſelf to Heaven by his own works, the other was to let the world enjoy his Vertues a long time. Therefore the Gods were onely willing that the firſt ſhould know the approaching change, which the other was to defer; it being enough that one Honour ſhould be given to Heaven, and another promiſed.

3. Admirable alſo was that Dream, and famous in the Event, which the two Conſuls *Decius Mus*, and *Manlius Torquatus* dream'd, when they lay incamped not far from the foot of the Mountain *Veſuvius*, at the time of the *Latin* War, which was very ſharp and dangerous: For a certain perſon foretold to both of them, that the *Manes* and *Terra Mater* claim'd as their due the General of one ſide, and the whole Army on the other: But that which Captain ſoever ſhould aſſail the forces of the Enemy, and devote himſelf a Victim for the good of his Army, ſhould obtain the Victory.

This

This the Entrails of the Sacrifices confirmed the next morning to both Consuls, who endeavoured either to expiate the misfortune, if it might be averted, or else resolv'd to undergo the determination of the Gods. Therefore they agreed, that which Wing should begin to faint, the other should with his own life appease the Fates; which while both undauntedly ventured to perform, *Decius* hapned to be the person whom the Gods required.

4. The Dream which follows, seems to concern publick Religion. A certain Master of a Family having caused his Servant to be whipped, and brought him to the punishment of the Fork in the Flaminian *Circus*, at the time of the Plebeian Plays, a little before the Show was about to begin, *Jupiter*, in a Dream, commanded *Titus Atinius*, one of the Vulgar, to tell the Consuls, *That he that had danc'd before the last* Circensian *Games, did no way please him; and that unless the fault were expiated by an exact restoration of the Plays, there would ensue not a little vexation and trouble to the City.* He fearing to involve the Commonwealth by Religion to his own disadvantage, held his peace. Immediately his Son, taken with a sudden fit of sickness, died. Afterwards being asked by the same God in his sleep, *Whether he thought himself punished enough for the neglect of his Command?* yet remaining obstinate, was strucken with a general weakness of body: At length, by the advice of his friends, being carried in a Horse-litter to the Consuls Tribunal, having fully declared the cause of his misfortunes, to the admiration of all men recovering his former strength, he walked afoot to his house.

5. Nor must we pass over in silence, that when *M. Cicero* was banished the City, by the Conspiracy of his Enemies, He diverting himself in a certain Village in the Country of *Atinate*, and falling asleep in the field,

as he thought himself wandring through strange places and uncouth Regions, he thought he met *C. Marius* in his Consuls Robes, who asked him, *What he made there wandring with so sad a Countenance?* Whereupon *Cicero* making his condition known to him, the Consul took him by the right hand and delivered him to the next Lictor, to conduct him to his own Monument, telling him, *That there there was a more joyful hope of his better condition laid up for him.* Nor did it otherwise fall out; for the Senate made a Decree for his return in the Temple of *Jupiter* built by *Marius*.

6. But *C. Gracchus* was most openly and apparently foretold, in a Dream, the mischief of an approaching mischance: for being asleep, he saw the shape of his Brother *Titus*, who told him, *There was no way for him to avoid the same Fate which he had undergone, when he was driven out of the Capitol.* This many related from the mouth of *Gracchus* himself, before he had undertaken the Tribuneship, wherein he perish'd. And one *Cælius* a *Roman* Historian, said, *He had heard much talk thereof while* Gracchus *was living.*

7. But that which follows, far exceeds the dire Aspect of the foregoing Narration. *Antonius* having lost the Battel of *Actium*, *Cassius Parmensis*, who had taken his part, fled to *Athens*; where he fell asleep in the night, being tired with care and trouble: He thought there came to him a person of a very great stature, black Complexion, his Beard deformed, and long hanging Hair, who being ask'd what he was, answered, *Cacodæmon.* Being affrighted with so horrid a sight, and terrible a name, he called up his Servants, and demanded of them if they saw any one in such a habit, either come in or go out of the Chamber: Who affirming that no such had come there, he again betook himself to his rest; when immediately the same shape appeared to him again; whereawaking altogether, he

called for a light, commanding the Servants to depart. But between this night and the loss of his head, which *Cæsar* took from him, there followed a very short space of time.

8. But the Dream of *Aterius Rufus*, a *Roman* Knight, was more plainly hinted to him: for he dream'd one night, at a time when there was a great Fencing-prize at *Syracuse*, that he saw himself slain; which he told the next day to those that sate by him in the Play-house. It happened afterwards, that neer to the Knights place, the Net-player was introduced with the Challenger, whose face when he saw, he said, that he was to be slain by the Net-player; and immediately would have departed. They endeavouring by discourse to put away his fear, were the cause of the destruction of this miserable man. For the Net-player being driven thither by his Antagonist, and cast upon the ground, as he lay along endeavouring to defend himself, he ran *Aterius* thorough the body with his Sword.

Forraign Examples.

1. The Dream also of *Annibal*, as it was detestable to the *Roman* bloud, so the prediction thereof was certain, whose waking not onely, but his sleeping was fatal to our Empire. He had a Dream appolite to his purpose, and fitted to his wishes: for he fancied a young man of humane shape, taller than ordinary, was sent to him by *Jupiter*, to be his Guide and Conductor in his Invasion of *Italy*; by whose command at first he followed his Foot-steps, without casting his eyes either one way or another: afterwards, out of the eager desire in mortals to do what is forbidden, looking behind him, he saw a Serpent of an immense magnitude destroying all before it: After that he beheld prodigi-

ous

ous ſhowers of Hail, with Thunder and dark Clouds. Being aſtoniſh'd, he asked, *What that Monſter meant?* to which his Conductor, *Behold*, ſaid he, *the waſte and devaſtation of* Italy; *therefore be ſilent, and commit the reſt to Fate.*

2. How gently was *Alexander* King of *Macedon* warn'd to take more care of his life, had Fortune adviſed him ſo well to avoid the danger! for he knew that the right hand of *Caſſander* would be mortal to him, long before he felt it by the event: for he believed he ſhould be ſlain by him, although he had never ſeen him. After ſome time, upon ſight of him, beholding the reſemblance of his nocturnal fear, ſo ſoon as he found him to be the Son of *Antipater*, repeating the Greek Verſe ſo much in favour of the credit of dreams, he baniſh'd from his thoughts all ſuſpition of the Poyſon prepared for him as was publickly believed by *Caſſander*.

3. More indulgent were the Gods to the Poet *Simonides*, confirming their admonition by the ſtrength of repeated advice: For he coming aſhore and finding a dead body of a man, buried it; whereupon he was by the ſame body admoniſhed, that he ſhould not ſet ſail the next day: which he believing, ſtaid aſhore; but thoſe that went to Sea were all caſt away. He was not a little glad that he had truſted his life to the ſecurity of a Dream, rather than to the mercy of the Sea: And being mindful of the benefit receiv'd, eterniz'd the memory of the perſon in a living Poem, raiſing him up a better Sepulchre in the memories of men, than that which he had beſtowed upon him on the ſhore.

4. Of great Efficacy alſo was that apparition to *Cræſus* in his ſleep, which firſt occaſion'd in him great fear, afterwards greater grief: For it ſeemed to him that *Atys*, one of his Sons, the moſt excellent for

ſtrength of Body, and endowments of Mind, and his deſign'd Succeſſor, was violently murder'd. Thereupon the Young-man, though he were uſually ſent to the Wars, was kept at home. He had alſo an Armory ſtor'd with all ſorts of Weapons, and that was remov'd from him. He had Companions that us'd to go armed: They were alſo forbid to come near him. Yet Neceſſity gave acceſs to grief. For there being a Wild-Boar, of an incredible bigneſs, that waſted the till'd fields of Mount *Olympus*, and kill'd ſeveral of the Countrey-people, and the Royal aid being implored, the Son extorted from his Father leave that he might be ſent to deliver the people from their Calamity: which he the more readily granted, becauſe the miſchief was not threatned from Teeth, but from Iron. But while every one was intent and eager in killing the wild beaſt, obſtinate Deſtiny perſiſting in her intended violence, directed a Spear into his Body, which was intended againſt the Boar, and choſe particularly that the right hand of him ſhould be only guilty of the Murder, to whoſe charge and tuition the Father had chiefly committed his Son: which being contaminated with the blood of Chance-medley, fearing his Country-god, at the prayer of the perſon, was repurify'd by Sacrifice.

5. Neither was *Cyrus* a ſmall argument of the inevitable neceſſity of Fate; whoſe Birth, to which the Empire of all *Aſia* was promis'd, *Aſtyages* his Grandfather by the Mothers ſide ſought in vain to hinder, by the predictions of a Dream. He married his Daughter *Mandane*, for that he had dreamt that ſhe had overwhelm'd all the Nations of *Aſia* with her Urine, not to one of the Nobles, leſt the Right of Dominion might fall to his family, but to one of a ſmall fortune among the *Perſians*. When *Cyrus* was born he caus'd him to be expos'd, having dreamt that a Vine growing

ing out of the Secret Parts of *Mandane*, ſhould cover all his Dominions. But he was fruſtrated in all his endeavours and humane Counſels, not being able to hinder the felicity of his Nephew, which the Gods had ſo fully determined.

6. While *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſe* liv'd a private life, *Himera*, a woman of no mean parentage, fancied in her Sleep that ſhe aſcended into Heaven, and having there view'd the Seats of all the Gods, that ſhe ſaw a ſtrong man yellow-hair'd, ſcurſie countenanced, bound in Iron Chains to the Throne of *Jove*, and lying at his feet: and asking a young man who was her guide the meaning thereof, ſhe was told that he was the ill fate of *Sicily* and *Italy*; and when his chains ſhould be taken off, many Towns would be ruin'd: which Dream ſhe declared the next day. Afterwards ſeeing *Dionyſius*, by the help of Fortune, an enemy to the Liberty of *Syracuſe* and the lives of the Innocent, freed from his Celeſtial Chains, entring the Walls of the *Himerai*, ſhe cryed out, This was he that ſhe had ſeen in her Dream. Which being related to *Dionyſius*, he cauſed her to be put to Death.

7. Safer was the Dream of the Mother of the ſame *Dionyſius*; who, when ſhe had conceived him, fancied that ſhe was brought to bed of a great Satyr: and conſulting the Interpreter of Prodigies, ſhe underſtood that he ſhould be the greateſt and moſt powerful of all the *Greeks* of his time.

8. But *Amilcar* General of the *Carthaginians*, while he was beſieging *Syracuſe*, thought that he heard a voice proclaiming to him, that he ſhould Sup the next day in that City. With great joy, as if Victory were promis'd him from Heaven, he prepared his Army for the Aſſault; at which time diſſention ariſing between the *Carthaginians* and *Sicilians*, the *Syracuſans* ſallied out, took his Camp, and brought him bound into the

City. Thus deluded by his Hope, not his Dream, he ſupp'd a Captive in *Syracuſe*, not, as he had conceiv'd, a Victor.

9. *Alcibiades* alſo beheld his lamentable end in a Dream, no way fallacious. For being ſlain and unburied, he was covered with the ſame Apparel of his Concubines, which he had ſeen himſelf cloathed in, in his Sleep.

10. The following Dream, for its manifeſt certainty, though ſomewhat longer, craves not to be omitted. Two familiar *Arcadians* travailing together came to *Megara*; one of which went to lye at his Friends houſe, the other at a common Inne. He that lay at his Friends houſe dreamt, that he heard his companion intreating his help, for that he was abuſed by the Innkeeper, which he might prevent by his ſpeedy preſence. Leaping out of his Bed, he endeavoured to finde the Inne where his friend lay. But Fate condemning his humane purpoſe as needleſs, and believing what he had heard to be but a Dream, he went to Bed again and to ſleep. Then the ſame perſon came wounded and beſeech'd, that ſince he had neglected to aſſiſt him in his life-time, he would not delay to revenge his Death; for that his body ſlain by the Innekeeper, was carrying out at the Gate in a Cart, cover'd with Dung. His friend, mov'd by his Prayers, made haſte to the Gate, and ſtopt the Cart which was deſcribed to him in his ſleep, apprehended the Innekeeper, and brought him to condign puniſhment.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Miracles.

Among the ROMANS.

1. Caſtor *ſeen in the* Latin *and* Perſian *Wars.*
2. Eſculapius *appearing in the ſhape of a Serpent.*
3. *Words ſpoken by* Juno Moneta.
4. *Words ſpoken by female* Fortune.
5. *Words ſpoken by a* Sylvan *in the war of the* Veii.
6. Mars *ſeen in the* Lucan *War.*
7. Penates *returning from* Alba *to* Lavinium *of their own accord.*
8. Julius Cæſar *ſeen after his death.*
9. *The Sepulchre of* Pompey *miraculouſly found.*
10. *The Death of* Appius Claudius, *Pro-Conſul, foretold by a Miracle.*
11. *The Scepter of* Romulus *and Statues preſerved from fire.*
12. *Men brought to their graves revive.*

FORRAIGN.

1. Erus Pamphilius *reviving after ten daies.*
2. *An* Athenian *deprived of his Memory.*
3. *A Woman ſuddenly ſtruck dumb.*
4. Egles *the* Samian *dumb ſuddenly, recovering his Speech.*
5. Gordius *the* Epirote *born after the death of his Mother.*
6. Jaſon Pheræus *cured of an Impoſtume.*
7. Simonides *the Poet eſcaped the fall of a houſe.*
8. *The death of* Daphidas *the Sophiſter foretold by the Oracle.*
9. *The death of* Philip *King of* Macedon *foretold.*
10. *The death of* Alexander *miraculouſly foretold.*
11. *The chance of a Rower.*
12. *The ſtrange Teeth of King* Pruſias *his Son.*
13. Drypetine *daughter to* Mithridates

Mithridates *born with a double order of Teeth.*

14. *The accurate Sight of* Strabo Lynceus.

15. *The hairy Heart of* Aristomedes *the* Messenian.

16. *The annual Fever of* Antipater *the Poet.*

17. *The equality of* Polystratus *and* Hippoclides *in fortune.*

18. *Miracles of Nature.*

19. *The Serpent of* Regulus.

MAny Accidents also happen to men awake, and by day, as well as those which are involved in the clouds of darkness and dreams; which because it is hard to understand whence they proceed, or upon what reason grounded, are deservedly called Miracles.

1. Among the great multitude whereof, this first occurs. When *Aulus Posthumius* Dictator and *Manilius Octavius* Captain of the *Tuscans* were in fight with great forces on both sides, at the Lake *Regillus*, and that for some time neither Party gave ground; *Castor* and *Pollux* taking the *Romans* side, overthrew the forces of the Enemy.

Also in the *Macedonian* War, *P. Vatinius* a Magistrate of *Reate* returning toward the City by Night, thought he met two beautiful Men sitting upon white Horses, who told him, that the day before *Perseus* was taken by *Æmilius*. Which when he related to the Senate, he was by them committed to Prison, as a contemner of their Majesty and Power. But afterwards, when they understood by the Letters from *Paulus* that *Perseus* was taken the same day, he was not only delivered out of custody, but honoured with a gift of Land, and vacancy from bearing Office. It was also farther found, that *Castor* and *Pollux* did watch over the safety of the Common-wealth, and travail'd hard for the good of the same, for that they were seen to wash themselves and their horses in the Lake of

Juturna,

Juturna, and their Temple adjoyning to the Fountain open'd of it self, not being unlockt by the hand of any person.

2. But then we may relate how favourable the rest of the Gods were to our City. For when our City was visited with a triennial Pestilence, and that neither through divine Compassion or humane Aid any remedy could be found for so long and lasting a Calamity; the Priests looking into the *Sibyls* Books observ'd, that there was no other way to restore the City to its former health, but by fetching the Image of *Esculapius* from *Epidaurus*. The City therefore sending their Ambassadours thither, hop'd that by its authority, the greatest then in the world, they might prevail to obtain the only remedy against their fatal misery. Neither did her hope deceive her. For her desire was granted with as much willingness, as it was requested with earnestness. For immediately the *Epidaurians* carrying the Ambassadours to the Temple of *Esculapius* (distant from the City some five miles) desired them to take out of it whatever they thought convenient for the preservation of *Rome*; whose free benignity the god himself imitating by his celestial obedience, approv'd the courtesie of mortals. For that Snake, which but seldom or never seen but to their great benefit, the *Epidaurians* worshipt equal to *Esculapius*, began to glide with a mild aspect and gentle motion through the chief parts of the City, and being three days seen to the religious admiration of all men, without doubt taking in good part the change of a more noble Seat, hasted to the *Roman* Galley, and while the Marriners stood affrighted at so unusual a sight, crept aboard the Ship, and peaceably folding its self into several rings, quietly remain'd in the Cabbin of *Q. Ogulnius*, one of the Ambassadours. The Legats having return'd due thanks, and being instructed

ſtructed by the skilful in the due worſhip of the Serpent, like men that had obtain'd their hearts deſire, joyfully departed, and after a proſperous Voyage putting in at *Antium*, the Snake, which had remained in the Ship, glided to the Porch of the Temple of *Eſculapius*, adorn'd with Myrtle and other Boughs, and twiſted itſelf about a Palm-tree of a very great height, ſtaying for three days in the Temple of *Antium*; the Ambaſſadours with great care ſetting by thoſe things wherewith he uſed to be fed, for fear he ſhould be unwilling to return to the Ship: after which he patiently ſuffer'd himſelf to be tranſported to our City. The Ambaſſadours landing upon the ſhore of *Tiber*, the Snake ſwam to the Iſland where the Temple was dedicated, and by his coming diſpell'd the Calamity for remedy whereof he was ſought.

3. Not leſs voluntary was the coming of *Juno* to our City. The *Veientes* being taken by *Furius Camillus*, the Souldiers by command of the General going about to remove the Image of *Juno Moneta*, which was there in principal adoration, endeavour'd to remove it from the place where it ſtood. Among the reſt, one of the Souldiers asked the Goddeſs in ſport, whether ſhe would go to *Rome*; to which the Goddeſs replying ſhe would, the jeſt was turn'd into admiration. And now believing that they did not only carry the Image, but *Juno* her ſelf, with great joy they placed her in that part of the *Aventine* Mountain, where now we ſee her Temple ſtand.

4. The Image alſo of the Womens Fortune, about four miles from the City upon the *Latine* Road, conſecrated together with her Temple, at the ſame time that *Coriolanus* was diverted from the deſtruction of the City by his Mothers tears, was heard, not once, but twice to ſpeak theſe words: *In due manner have you ſeen me, Matrons, and in due manner dedicated me.*

5. But

5. But *Valerius Publicola* Conſul, after the expulſion of the Kings, waged War with the *Veientes* and *Hetrurians*, while the one ſought to reſtore *Tarquinius* to his Kingdome, the other ſought to retain their new-recover'd Liberty: At which time, while the *Hetrurians* and *Tarquinius* had the upper hand in the Right Wing, there hapned ſuch a ſudden Conſternation, that not only the Victors began to fly, but alſo drew the *Veientes*, ſtruck with the ſame fear, along with them. On a ſudden a loud voice was heard from the adjoining *Arſian* Wood, ſaid to be uttered from the mouth of a Sylvan: *But one more of the* Hetrurians *ſhall fall: The* Roman *Hoſt ſhall obtain the Conqueſt.* The truth of the Miracle appeared by the number of the dead Bodies told.

6. What ſay ye to the Aſſiſtance of *Mars*, which facilitated the Victory of the *Romans*, is it not worthy of laſting memory? When the *Brutians* and *Lucans* with moſt inveterate Hatred and great Forces ſought the deſtruction of the City of *Thurinum*, *C. Fabricius Luſcinus* Conſul on the other ſide endeavouring with all his might to preſerve the ſame, and that the event of things ſeemed dubious, the Forces of both ſides being met in one place, and the *Romans* not daring to venture battle; a young man of a comely ſtature began to exhort them to take courage; and finding them not very forward, laying hold of a Ladder, he poſted through the middle of the Enemies body to the oppoſite Camp, and ſetting up his Ladder ſcal'd the fortification; and then crying out with a loud voice, that there was a ſtep to Victory rais'd, he drew ours to aſſail, the *Lucans* and *Brutians* to defend their own Camp, where after a ſharp Conflict they were utterly overthrown. For by the impulſe of his own Arms, he deliver'd um over to be ſlain and taken by the *Romans*; Twenty Thouſand being ſlain, Five

Thouſand

Thousand taken, together with *Statius Statilius* General of both People, and Twenty Military Enfignes. The next day, when the Consul told the Souldiers that he had reserv'd a Crown for him who had shewed so much Courage in taking the Camp, and no young man was to be found to claim it, it was then known and believed that *Mars* had taken the *Romans* part. And among other demonstrations of the truth of the thing, there was a Head-piece found with two Plumes, which had covered his sacred Head. Therefore by command of *Fabricius* there was a Supplication to *Mars* proclaim'd, and thanks return'd to him with great joy by the Souldiers crown'd with Lawrel, in testimony of the assistance which they had received from him.

7. I shall relate now what being known in that age was faithfully deliver'd to those which succeeded: *Æneas* bringing his household-gods with him from *Troy*, placed them in *Lavinium:* From thence they were by his Son *Ascanius* remov'd to *Alba*, which himself had built: which lest it should seem a force put upon them by the hands of men, they resolv'd to testifie their good Will. Wherein I am not ignorant how opinion hesitates in the asserting the truth of the motion and voice of the Immortal Gods. However, because we do not make a relation of things new, but only repeat what has been deliver'd, let the first Authors vindicate the truth. It is our part not to refuse as vain, what the sacred Monuments of Story have consecrated for certain.

8. Having made mention of that City, from whence our own had its first original, heavenly *Julius* the glorious offspring thereof comes into our mind, whom *C. Cassius* (never to be named without remembring his publick Parricide) while he was labouring courageously at the Battle of *Philippi*, saw above mortal Stature

Stature, clad in a Purple Robe, and an angry Countenance, making toward him with full ſpeed; at which ſight affrighted he fled, having firſt heard theſe words utter'd, *What wouldſt thou do more, if it be too little to have kill'd? Didſt thou not murther* Cæſar, *O* Caſſius? *But no Deity can be prevail'd againſt; therefore by injuring him whoſe mortal body ſtill burns, thou haſt deſerved to have a god ſo much thy enemy.*

9. *Lentulus* paſſing by the ſhore where the Body of *Pompey* the Great, murdered by the treachery of King *Ptolemy*, was then at the ſame time burning; altogether ignorant of his fall, cryed out to his Souldiers, *How do we know but that* Pompey *may be now burning in yonder flame?* The Miracle was, that he ſhould ignorantly ſpeak ſo great a truth as it were by inſpiration.

10. This was only the ſaying of a man; but that which came from the mouth of *Apollo* himſelf was more miraculous, a clear evidence of the *Delphick* Preſage, which foretold the Death of *Appius*. He in the Civil War wherein *Pompey* had ſeparated himſelf from his friendſhip with *Cæſar*, through advice no leſs baneful to himſelf than diſadvantageous to the Common-wealth, being willing to know the event of ſo great a Commotion; by his power in command (for he was Governour of *Achaia*) caus'd the chief Preſident of the *Delphick* Oracle to deſcend into the innermoſt part of the holy Den, whence as more certain Anſwers are demanded, ſo the over-abundance of the divine exhalation becomes more noxious to thoſe that give the Anſwer. The Virgin therefore through the impulſe of the inſpiring Spirit, with a moſt dreadful tone, among other obſcure terms and *ænigma's*, thus return'd to *Appius*: *The War concerns thee nothing, O* Roman: *Thou ſhalt have for thy lot, that part of* Euboea *call'd* Cœla. He believing that *Apollo* had forewarned

warned him to avoid the danger of the War, retired into that Countrey which lies between *Rhamnuns* a noble part of the Countrey of *Attica*, and *Caristus* adjoining to the *Chalcidic* Bay, where consum'd with sickness before the battle of *Pharsalia*, he possessed the place assign'd for his burial.

11. These things may also be accompted as Miracles; that when the Chappel of the *Salii* was burnt, there was nothing escap'd the fire but the Kings staff of *Romulus*. That the Statue of *Servius Tullius* remain'd untouch'd, when the Temple of Fortune was consum'd by fire. That the Statue of *Claudia*, plac'd near the entry into the Temple of the Mother of the Gods, that Temple being twice consum'd by fire, once when *Nasica Scipio* and *L. Bestia*, another time when *Servilius* and *Lamia* were Consuls, stood firm upon its Basis and untouch'd.

12. The Funeral Pile of *Acilius Aviola* brought no small astonishment to our City, who being taken for dead both by the Physicians and by his Friends, when he had been laid out for some time upon the Ground, the Flame no sooner coming near his Body, but he rose up and affirmed himself to be alive, calling for the assistance of his Schoolmaster, who only remain'd with him. But being encompass'd with the flames, he could not be drawn thence.

13. *Lucius Lamia* also, a person of the Pretorian Order, is said to have spoken upon his funeral Pile.

FORRAIGN *Examples.*

1. But the fate of *Erus Pamphilus* has render'd the foregoing relations less miraculous; whom *Plato* affirm'd, that after he was thought to have been slain in Battle, and had lain in the field ten days, when he came to be taken away and laid upon the funeral Pile, he

he reviv'd, and related ſtrange things, which he ſaw while he lay dead.

2. And ſince we are come to Forraign Examples, there was a certain learned Man at *Athens*, who having received an unlucky hurt with a Stone upon his Head, though he retain'd his Memory as to all other things very perfect, yet forgot his Learning, which he had follow'd all his life time. A dire and fatal Wound in the Soul of him that was wounded, as if having of purpoſe ſought out every ſenſe, it had pitch'd upon that particularly wherein the Patient moſt delighted, burying the ſingular Doctrine and Learning of the perſon in the perpetual grave of Envy. To whom if it were not lawful to enjoy thoſe Studies, it had been better that he had never obtain'd a taſte of them, than to want the ſweetneſs of what he once had in poſſeſſion.

3. But more lamentable is the narration of the following miſchance. For the Wife of *Nauſimenes* an *Athenian* hapning to take her Son and Daughter in the act of Inceſt, ſtruck with horrour of ſo monſtrous a ſight, became ſuddenly dumb, ſo that ſhe neither could expreſs her preſent Indignation, nor ever after ſpeak a word. They puniſh'd themſelves for their own wicked act, with voluntary Death. Thus Fortune that in a rage took from her her Speech, from them their Lives, was therein favourable to the Mother.

4. *Æglet* a *Samian* Wraſtler born mute, when he ſaw the Rewards of a Victory, which he had won, taken from him, out of indignation for the injury done him, recover'd his Speech.

5. Famous alſo was the Birth of *Gorgias* an *Epirote*, a very ſtrong man, who coming forth of his Mothers Womb as ſhe was going to be buried, with his crying caus'd them that carried the Beer to ſtand, affording

a

a ſtrange Miracle to his Countrey, as one that receiv'd his Birth and being from the Funeral-Pile of his Mother. For at the ſame moment ſhe in her Death yields to fate, the other is taken into arms alive before he was born.

6. A fortunate Wound was that which a certain perſon gave to *Pherean Jaſon*, endeavouring to have ſlain him. For ſtriking at him with his Sword, he brake an Impoſtume in that manner, which could neither be broken nor cured by any skill'd in Phyſick, delivering him from an incurable Diſeaſe.

7. Equally belov'd of the immortal Gods was *Simonides*, who being ſav'd from imminent danger, was alſo preſerv'd from after-ruine. For while he was at Supper with *Scopas* at *Cranon* a City of *Theſſaly*, news was brought him that two young men were at the door, earneſtly deſiring to ſpeak with him. When he came to the gate, he found no body there. But at the ſame moment, the Roof of the Dining-room fell down, and kill'd both *Scopas* and all his Gueſts. What greater wealth, than ſo much felicity, which neither the rage of the Sea or Land could take from him?

8. I am not unwilling to adde to this the Story of *Daphidas*, that men may underſtand how profitable it is to ſing the praiſes of the Gods, and obey the Divine Power. He being of their profeſſion who are call'd *Sophiſts*, reſolving to ask a frivolous queſtion of the Oracle of *Apollo*, in deriſion demanded, Whether he ſhould finde the Horſe he had loſt, when in truth he had none at all. To which the Oracle anſwer'd, That he ſhould finde his Horſe, but be kill'd with a fall off his back. Being upon his return, merry and laughing at the trick he had put upon the Oracle, he fell into the hands of *Attalus* the King, whom he had often abus'd with his ſcurrilous Verſes, being out of his reach: And being by his command thrown headlong down

down a Rock, which was call'd *The Horſe*, he receiv'd the juſt reward due to one that would go about to cavil with the gods.

9. *Philip* K. of *Macedon* being alſo admoniſht by the ſame Oracle to have a care of the violence of a Chariot, cauſed all the Chariots in his Kingdom to be cut to pieces, and alwaies carefully ſhun'd that place in *Bœotia* which is call'd *The Chariot*; and yet he could not avoid that kind of death which was foretold him: for *Panſanias* that ſlew him, had a Chariot engraven in the Hilt of his Sword.

10. And this fatal Neceſſity which the Father could not avoid, was as ſevere to his Son *Alexander*. For *Calanus* the *Indian* being about to throw himſelf, of his own accord, upon his Funeral-Pile, being ask'd by him whether he had any thing to command or tell him; made no other reply, but *I ſhall ſhortly ſee thee*. Nor was his anſwer in vain, for the violent Death of *Alexander* ſpeedily follow'd his violent deceaſe.

11. Theſe Royal Funerals are equal'd in Miracle by the fortune of a Rower in a Galley, who ſtanding at the Pump in a ſmall *Tyrian* Veſſel, and by the violence of a Wave thrown out of the ſame, the force of a contrary Wave waſh'd him into the Veſſel again: congratulating and bewailing, at one time, his miſerable and happy condition.

12. What more? Are we not to believe that there are certain Mockeries of Nature in the Bodies of Men? tolerable indeed, becauſe not horrid; yet no leſs miraculous, becauſe unuſual. The Son of *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, bearing the ſame name with his Father, inſtead of an upper row of Teeth, had one continued Bone, though neither deformed nor unfit for uſe.

13. *Dripetine* alſo the Daughter of *Mithridates*, born of *Laodice* the Queen, having her mouth deformed with a double row of Teeth above and below,

was her Fathers Companion when he fled from *Pompey*.

14. No less admirable were the Eyes of that person, who is reported to have had so sharp a sight, that he was able to discover the Ships going out of the Port of *Carthage*, from the Promontory of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*.

15. More admirable than his Eyes was the Heart of *Aristomenes* the *Messenian*; which the *Athenians*, by reason of his admirable subtlety causing to be cut out, (for they had often taken him, yet still by his cunning he escaped them) found to be all over hairy.

16. The Poet *Antipater* the *Sidonian*, every year on the very day of his Birth had a Fever; and having lived to a great age, upon his Birth-day died of a Fever.

17. Here we may very conveniently take notice of *Polystratus* and *Hippoclides*, Philosophers, who were born the same day, followed the Precepts of the same Master *Epicurus*, possess'd the same Revenues, went to the same School, and living long Friends together, at length both died the same day. So equal was the fortune and friendship of their Society, that who would not think them born, bred, and deceas'd in the very bosome of divine Concord her self?

18. Why all this should come to pass, either to the Children of Kings, or to a most famous King himself, to a Prophet of a flourishing Wit, or be so remarkable in the Lives of Learned Men, or among the Vulgar sort, Nature it self, so fruitful in good or evil, hath never given a reason. No more than why among the wild Goats, which are bred in *Crete*, being wounded with darts, should fly for present help to the Herb *Dittany*, which being eaten immediately forceth the Dart and Poyson out of their Wounds. Or how it comes to pass that in the Island of *Cephalenia*, whereas all other beasts in other places are refresh'd with drinking

ing water, in that place they are wont to quench their thirsts by receiving the wind into their mouths. Or why at *Crotona*, in the Temple of *Lacinian Juno*, the ashes should remain undisturb'd, and not to be remov'd, what Wind soever blow. Or why one Fountain in *Macedonia*, another in the Countrey of *Calenum*, should have so much the property of Wine, as to intoxicate men. These things we do not so much admire, as think worthy of remembrance, being well ascertain'd, that Nature may well assume to herself the greatest share of knowledg, who has the painful charge of begetting all things.

19. And now seeing we are talking of things that exceed common reason, let us give a relation of that Serpent, which *Livie* has so elegantly described. For he saith, that upon the Banks of the River *Bagrada* in *Africk* so great a Serpent appear'd, as hindred the whole Army of *Attilius Regulus* from the use of the water; Many Souldiers she swallowed down her filthy wide Mouth, many killed with the hideous bangs of her Tail: and when they could pierce her with no Dart or Spear, at length they were forced to plant their Engins of Battery against, and bruise her to pieces with huge Stones and Flints of massie weight; and to all both Horse and Foot seemed more terrible than *Carthage* it self. At what time the stream being defiled with her Blood, and the air infected with the stench of her Body, the *Roman* Camp was forced to remove. The Skin of this Monster, he saith, was 120 foot long, and sent to *Rome*.

Lib. II.

Chap. I.

Of Matrimonial Ceremonies, and Duty of Relations.

1. *Good Signes preceding Marriage.*
2. *Marriage-Feasts.*
3. *Women praised for living Widows.*
4. *First Divorce.*
5. *Matrimonial liberty and decency.*
6. *Conjugal Love.*
7. *Modest Consanguinity.*
8. *The Feast of* Charistia, *or Love.*
9. *Age honoured.*
10. *Youth observed, and instructed by example.*

WHile we are searching into the rich and potent kingdom of Nature, it will not be unseasonable to take notice of the antient and memorable Institutions, as well of our own City, as of other Nations. For it is worth our while to know the first original of those happy Manners, and that way of living which we now enjoy under the best of Princes, seeing that the consideration of them may perhaps be profitable to the present Customes.

1. Among the Antients there was nothing either publickly or privately undertaken, unless they had first observed the signe; from which Custome, the Southsayers were alwaies consulted before Marriages. And though they have left off the marking of Birds, or bodings of good or bad luck, yet nominally they follow the foottreps of the old Custome.

2. The

2. The Women ſupp'd with the Men ſitting, but the Men lay down: which Cuſtome among men was obſerved in Heaven. For *Jupiter* is ſaid to ſup lying on his Couch, while *Juno* and *Minerva* are invited to ſit. Which kind of ſevere Cuſtome our Age more diligently obſerves in the Capitol than in their Houſes: It being more proper to adhere to the Diſcipline of Goddeſſes than Women.

3. They that were content to be married but once, were honoured with a Crown of Chaſtity. For they believed that Matron to have an incorrupted mind, and ſincere Loyalty, that would not leave the Chamber where ſhe had firſt depoſited her Virginity; and eſteemed the experience of many Matrimonies to be a ſigne of ſome Incontinency.

4. There was no Divorce between Man and Wife till Five Hundred and Twenty Years after the City was built. The firſt was *Spurius Carvilius*, who divorced his Wife for being barren. Who though he appeared to have a good excuſe for what he did, yet there were that blamed him enough, being ſuch as believed that Conjugal Loyalty was to be preferred before deſire of Children.

5. But that the Honour and Modeſty of Matrons might be more ſacred, when they were call'd into Court, no man was permitted to touch them, that their Garments might not be defiled by the contact of a ſtrange hand. The uſe of Wine was formerly unknown to the *Roman* Women, for fear it might bring them to any diſgrace, becauſe the firſt degree to forbidden *Venus* is from father *Bacchus*. Yet that their Chaſtity might not alway occaſion undecent retirement, but that they might appear in a comely Garb of converſe, through the Indulgence of their Husbands they wore Purple, and ornaments of Gold. For then Corrupters of Marriages were not fear'd, but Women

might modeſtly behold, and chaſtly be beheld.

6. When there was any difference between Huſband and Wife, they went to the Chappel of the Goddeſs *Viriplaca*, which is in the Palace: and having liberty to talk what they had a minde to, after the heat was over, they returned home very good friends. This Goddeſs had her name from appeaſing of men; worthy of adoration, and to be worſhipped not with choice but exquiſite Sacrifices: as being the Keeper of dayly and Family-peace, rendring to men and women, under the ſame yoak of Peace, what is due to the Majeſty of men, and the Honour of women.

7. This Modeſty among Wives, is it not neceſſary among other Relations? for that I may by a ſmall example, ſet forth the great force thereof: formerly neither Father us'd to wath with his Son at age, nor Father-in-law with Son-in-law. Whence it appears, there was as much Religion attributed to Kindred and Conſanguinity, as to the Immortal Gods; while among thoſe that were thus ti'd, it was no more lawful to ſtrip themſelves, than it was in the Temple.

8. Our Anceſtors alſo inſtituted a ſacred Feaſt, which was called *Chariſtia*, where none were admitted but Kindred; that if there were any difference among Relations, there might be a reconciliation by the help of Friends, in the midſt of their ſacred Rites and holy Mirth.

9. Youth gave to Old Age ſuch circumſpect and manifold Honour, as if the elder were the common Father of the younger. There upon Council-day, if any young man waited upon any Senator, Relation, or Friend of his Father, to the Senate, they ſtay without door till the other came to perform the ſame duty home again. By which voluntary attendance they accuſtom'd their bodies and minds to undergo publick Offices, and in a ſhort time became more experienced in

in labour and meditation. Being invited to a Feast, they diligently inquired who was to be there, that they might not be forced to rise to give way to their Elder: and when the Cloth was taken away, they always rose and went away first: and all the time of Supper they were very sparing and modest in their discourse.

10. The Elder were wont to sing the famous deeds of their Ancestors, in Verse, at their Festivals, thereby to stir up Youth by imitation thereof. What more splendid or more profitable than this kind of Combat? Youth honour'd Gray Hairs, and superannuated Age encourag'd those who were ready to enter into Action with the nourishment of their favour. What *Athens*, what School, what forraign Education may I prefer to this Domestick Discipline? This raised the *Camilli, Scipio's, Fabricii, Marcelli*, and *Fabii*: and that I may not be tedious in recounting all the lights of our noble Empire, thus the most glorious part of Heaven the sacred *Cæsars* obtained their fame.

Chap. II.

Of the Offices of Magistrates and Orders.

1. *The* Roman *Fidelity and Taciturnity.*
2. *Authority of Magistrates, and observance of the Latin Tongue.*
3. C. Marius *despising Eloquence.*
4. *Consular Majesty.*
5. *Constancy of the* Roman *Embassadours.*
6. *Vigilancy of the Senate.*
7. *Diligence of the Tribunes.*
8. *Abstinence of the Magistrates.*
9. *The Tryal of the* Roman *Knights, and* Lupercalia.

1. SO high a Love had all our Ancestors for their Countrey, that there was not a Senator, who for many Ages would reveal the Transactions of the Fathers. Q. *Fabius Maximus* onely, and he also through imprudence, going into the Countrey and meeting *P. Crassus* by the way, told him what was done in order to proclaiming the Second *Punick* War, remembring that he had been Questor three years before, and not knowing that he was not yet put into the Senate by the Censors, who were the only persons that gave admittance to those that had born Honours in that Assembly. However, though this were but a harmless errour in *Fabius*, yet he was severely reprehended for it by the Consuls. For they would by no means suffer Taciturnity, the best and safest bond of Government, to be violated in the least. And therefore when *Eumenes* King of *Asia* gave intelligence to the Senate, that *Perseus* was preparing to make War, it could not be known either what *Eumenes* said, or what the Fathers answered, till *Perseus* was taken.

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The Court was the faithful and deep breaſt of the Commonwealth, environ'd and fortifi'd with Silence; which they that enter'd, ſoon caſt off private Love, cloathing themſelves with publick Zeal. So that I may ſay, that one would have thought, that no man heard what was committed to the ears of ſo many.

2. But our antient Magiſtrates how they behaved themſelves in bearing up the Majeſty of the *Roman* People, from hence may be obſerved, that among all their other marks of Gravity, this they punctually maintain'd, not to talk with the *Greeks* but in the *Latine* Tongue. And alſo cauſing them to lay aſide the volubility of their own language, forc'd them to ſpeak by an Interpreter, not only in our own City, but in *Greece* and *Aſia*: That the honour of the *Latine* Tongue might be ſpread with greater veneration among other Nations. Not but that they had their Schools of Learning, but that they did not hold it convenient that the Gown ſhould in any thing be ſubject to the Cloak. Believing it a poor and low thing, that the weight and authority of Government ſhould be tam'd by the charms of Eloquence.

3. And therefore, *Caius Marius*, thou art not to be condemn'd of clowniſh Rigour, not to let thy old age, crown'd with a double Lawrel, illuſtrious with *German* and *Numidian* Trophies, be ſoftned and overcome by the Eloquence of a vanquiſh'd Nation. Perhaps, leſt while he appear'd a ſtrainer in the exerciſes of his Wit, he might ſeem a Runagate from his native Rites and Cuſtomes. Who therefore open'd the way to the *Greek* Pleadings that now deafen our ears? *Molo* the Rhetorician, as I am perſwaded, who likewiſe ſharpned the ſtudies of *M. Cicero*. For he was the firſt Stranger that was ever heard in the Senate without an Interpreter; which Honour he receiv'd not undeſervedly, having mainly advanc'd the force of the *Roman* Eloquence.

Eloquence. Of conſpicuous felicity is *Arpinum*, whether you reſpect the one as a great contemner of Learning, or the other as the abounding Fountain thereof.

4. With great diligence this Cuſtome alſo was obſerved by our Anceſtors, that no perſon might walk between the Conſul and the laſt Lictor, though he went along by vertue of his Office, unleſs he were a Child and the Son of the Conſul. Which Cuſtome was ſo obſtinately maintain'd, that *Q. Fabius Maximus*, five times Conſul, and beſides in prime Authority, and honour'd with Age, being requeſted to go between him and the Lictor, for fear of being overborn by the crowd of *Samnites*, with whom he was going to treat, yet refus'd the Courteſie. The like did that ſame *Fabius* when he was ſent by the Senate to his Son Conſul at *Sueſſa*. For as his Son was diſpatching Cauſes without the City, he took his Horſe to ride through the preaſe; but his Son ſeeing him afar off, ſent a Lictor to him, commanding him to alight and come afoot, if he had any thing to ſay to the Conſul. Whom *Fabius* readily obeyed, ſaying, *Son, I did not this in contempt of thy Authority, but only to try whether thou knewest how to behave thy ſelf like a Conſul or no: Nor am I ignorant what is my Duty to my Countrey; but I prefer publike Inſtitutions before private Piety.*

5. Having done with the *Fabii*, Men of an admirable Conſtancy offer themſelves, who being ſent to *Tarentum* by the Senate to demand certain things; after they had received many Injuries, one of them having a Piſſpot thrown upon his Cloaths, they were brought to the Theater, or place of Audience, and finiſhed the whole buſineſs of the Embaſſie; but as to what they had ſuffered, they uttered not a word, leſt they might ſeem to talk more than what they had given

given them in charge: for it was impoſſible that any vexation at the affronts which they had received, could make them alter the reſpect which they had to Antient Cuſtome.

6. But I will paſs from Cuſtomes grown obſolete through Vice, to the moſt ſevere Inſtitutions of our Anceſtours, before the Senate ſate continually in that place which was call'd the *Little Senate-Houſe*; they never were aſſembled by Edict, but being cited they came immediatly. For they thought the praiſe of that Citizen much to be call'd in queſtion, that was to be compell'd to ſhew his Duty to his Country. For whatever is forc'd by Compulſion, is lookt upon as rather done by Conſtraint than Duty.

7. We are likewiſe to remember, that it was not lawful for the Tribunes of the people to be admitted into the Senate; but being plac'd upon Seats before the Doors, there it behov'd 'um diligently to hear and examine the Decrees that were under Vote, that if there were any thing which they miſliked, they might hinder them from paſſing. And therefore the Letter T was wont to be ſubſcrib'd at the bottome of all the antient Decrees of the Senate: by which Mark it was underſtood that the Tribunes had conſented. Who although it were their buſineſs to lie perdu for the good of the People, and to ſuppreſs the growth of ambitious attempts; yet they ſuffer'd them to uſe Silver Veſſels, and to wear Gold Rings given them at the publick charge, by the ſight of ſuch things to render the authority of their Magiſtracy the more conſpicuous.

8. Whoſe Authority as it increaſed, ſo their abſtinence was moſt ſtrictly commanded: For the Entrails of the Sacrifices offered by the Tribunes, were brought to the Queſtors of the Treaſury. The worſhip of the Gods, and humane Continence, was ſhewn in thoſe Sacrifices

Sacrifices of the *Roman* people, our Captains learning at thoſe Altars what holy hands they ought to come prepared with. And ſuch honour they gave to Continence, that many times the Debts of thoſe that had well behaved themſelves in the government of the Republick, were paid by the Senate: For they eſteemed it an unworthy thing, that the dignity of thoſe men ſhould ſuffer at home, by whoſe induſtry the Commonwealth had obtained ſplendor abroad.

9. The Youth of the Order of Knighthood, twice every year, were wont to ſhew themſelves in a publick Spectacle at the charge of ſome great Perſon, upon the day of the *Lupercal* Feaſts, which was the time of the approbation of Knights. The Cuſtome of the *Lupercals* were begun by *Romulus* and *Remus*, at ſuch a time as they were making merry, for that their Uncle *Numitor* had permitted them to build a City in the place where they were bred up, under Mount *Palatine*, which *Evander* the *Argive* had conſecrated by advice of *Fauſtulus* their Foſter-father. For thereupon they made a Sacrifice, and having ſlain ſeveral Goats, and eat and drank ſomewhat more largely than ordinary, they divided themſelves, and in their jollity made a ſportive Combat together; the memory of which Paſtime is celebrated with annual ſucceſſion of Holidaies. As for the Knights which were named *Trabeati*, *Quintus Fabius* appointed their publike Shew upon the *Ides* of *July*. He alſo, being Cenſor with *Pub. Decius*, in commemoration of a Sedition which he had appeas'd, when the *Comitia* or publick choice of Magiſtrates was almoſt fallen into the hands of the meaneſt people, divided the whole Rout into four Tribes, which he called *City-Tribes*; by means of which wholeſome act, being a man otherwiſe famous in Warlike Acts, he obtain'd the name of *Maximus*, or Greateſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Military Inſtitutions.

1. *Souldiers firſt tax'd by Pole.* 3. *The firſt uſe of the* Velites, *or*
2. *Military Exerciſe.* *light-armed.*

THe Modeſty of the People is alſo to be commended, who by freely offering themſelves to the labours and dangers of War, prevented their Commanders from putting thoſe that were tax'd by Pole to their Oaths; whoſe extreme poverty being ſuſpected, made them incapable of being truſted with the Publick Arms.

1. This Cuſtome confirm'd by long uſe, *C. Marius* firſt brake, making Souldiers of thoſe that were tax'd by Pole. A noble Citizen, yet by the Novelty which he brought in, not ſo propitious to Antiquity. Not unmindful, that if Military Sloath ſhould perſiſt to deſpiſe humility, he himſelf might be deem'd a Commander ceſs'd by the Pole. Therefore he thought it beſt to obliterate that proud way of choice among the *Roman* Armies, leſt the contagion of that mark ſhould ſpread it ſelf to the obſcuring his own glory.

2. The Diſcipline of handling Arms was recommended to the Souldiers by *P. Rutilius* Conſul, Colleague with *Cn. Mallius*: For not following the example of any Commander before him, calling together the Teachers of the Gladiators, from the Plays of *Cn. Aurelius Scaurus*, he firſt began to have the Souldiers learn the way of ſhunning and giving blows, according to the reaſons of Art; mixing virtue with art, and art with virtue; ſtrengthening vertue with the force of art, and encouraging art with the force of ſtrength.

3. The uſe of the *Velites*, or light-armed, was firſt experienc'd when *Fulvius Flaccus* beſieged *Capua*. For when our Horſe, being in number fewer, were not able to reſiſt the frequent excurſions of the *Campanian* Cavalry, *Q. Nævius* a Centurion chooſing out of the Foot certain that were nimble of body, armed with light and crooked Spears and little Targets, ordered them with a ſwift running jump to joyn themſelves

ſelves with the Horſe, and by and by as ſwiftly to retire; whereby the Foot being mingled with the Horſe, with their Darts not only infeſted the men, but the horſes likewiſe. Which unuſual way of Fight was the only overthrow of the *Campanian* Treachery. For which cauſe *Nevius* the author of it is ſtill had in great honour.

CHAP. IV.

Of Shews.

1. *Theaters firſt built.*
2. *Places appointed for ſuperiority.*
3. *The Original of Comical Scenes.*
4. *Of Secular Plays.*
5. *Firſt Secular Playes.*
6. *Ornaments and pride of Plays.*
7. *Firſt Gladiator, and Wreſtling Shews.*

1. FRom Military Inſtitutions we are next to come to the City-Camps, that is to ſay, the Theaters, for that upon them were many Combats oftentimes for victory, invented both for the recreation of Men, and worſhip of the Gods; not without ſome bluſhing tincture upon the face of Peace, to ſee Delight and Religion contaminated with civil blood, meerly for Scenical Oſtentation.

2. They were begun by *Meſſalla* and *Caſſius*, Cenſors; but by the authority of *Scipio Naſica*, the whole furniture of all their work was publiquely ſold. Afterwards a Decree of Senate paſs'd, that no one ſhould have any ſeats in the City, nor within a Mile thereof, or behold the Playes ſitting, to the end that Manhood in ſtanding, joyn'd with relaxation of the Mind, might be a mark of the *Roman* Fortitude.

3. For

3. For Five Hundred Fifty Eight years, the Senate ſtood mixt among the common People to behold the publick Shews. But this cuſtome *Atilius Serranus* and *L. Scribonius* Edils abrogated, when they made Plays to the Mother of the Gods, following the judgment of the Elder *Africanus*, and ſetting up ſeats for the Senators diſtinct from the people. Which thing alienated the Affection of the common people, and weakned the high eſteem which they had of him.

4. Now I ſhall rehearſe the beginning and firſt original Inſtitution of Playes. In the time that *Sulpitius Peticus* and *Licinius Stolo* were Conſuls, a moſt violent Peſtilence had afflicted our City, then at peace abroad, with new cares of preſervation from inteſtine calamity: And there was no help in any humane advice, all reliance was upon the ſtrict and new worſhip of Religion. Nor would the favour of the Gods lend any ear to the Verſes compos'd for their atonement, until the time which *Romulus*, upon his raviſhing the *Sabine* Virgins, conſecrated with particular Feſtivals, which he called *Conſualia*. Now as it is the cuſtome of men to purſue ſmall beginnings with an ardent affection, the young men added geſture to the pious and reverent words which they us'd towards the Gods, though with a ruſtick and uncompos'd motion of their Bodies. Which occaſioned the calling of *Ludius* out of *Hetruria*, whoſe comely ſwiftneſs after the manner of the *Curetes* and *Lydians*, from whom the *Hetrurians* had their Original, was a pleaſing Novelty to the eyes of the *Romans*: and becauſe *Ludius* was among them called *Hiſtrio*, therefore all Players were afterwards called *Hiſtriones*. At length the Diſcipline of playing advanced it ſelf to the meaſures of the Satyrs: whence firſt of all the Poet *Livie* took the affections of the people with Hiſtorical Arguments. He being often bawl'd at by the people, to

pleaſe

pleaſe um having injur'd his Voice, at length by the aſſiſtance of a Boy and a Muſician perform'd his Action in quiet: for he alwaies acted his own Works himſelf. The *Atellans* were call'd in by the *Oſci*; which ſort of recreation being temper'd by the *Italian* Severity, continued without any blemiſh; for they were neither remov'd from their Tribe, nor debarr'd of Military Stipends.

5. And becauſe it appears by their names whence the other Plaies had their derivation, it may not ſeem abſurd to relate the beginning of the *Secular* Games, the knowledg whereof is leaſt certain. At what time the City and Country was afflicted with a moſt violent Peſtilence, one *Valeſius* a certain rich man, who led a countrey-life, his two Sons and his Daughter being all deſperately ſick, as he was reaching ſome hot water for um from the fire, kneeling on his knees, pray'd his familiar Houſhold-gods that they would turn the evil from his Children upon his own head. Preſently he heard a voice, which told him his Children ſhould recover, if he would carry them down the River *Tiber* to *Tarentum*, and there refreſh them with hot water from the Altar of *Dis* and *Proſerpina*. Being troubled at this Prediction, becauſe it was a long and dangerous Voyage; yet hope overcoming his preſent fear, he carried the Children to the Banks of *Tiber*, (for he lived in a houſe of his own, in a Village call'd *Eretum*, adjoining to the Countrey of the *Sabines*) and in a little Veſſel ſayling to *Oſtia*, he put in about the middle of the Night at the Field of *Mars*. At which time the Children being thirſty, and there being no means to relieve um, for that there was no fire in the Veſſel, the Pilot told him, that he had diſcovered a ſmoak not far off. Who thereupon being commanded to go aſhore to *Terentum*, that was the name of the place, he haſtily took a Cup, which aſſoon as he had fill'd out of the

the River in that place where the ſmoak aroſe, he return'd very chearful, believing that now he had obtained the footſteps of a Remedy ſent from Heaven, and in a field that rather ſeem'd to ſmoak than have any reliques of fire; getting ſuch fuel as by chance he met with, and ſtedfaſtly purſuing the Omen, with continual blowing, he kindled a fire, and brought warm water to the Children. Which they had no ſooner drank off, but falling into a quiet ſleep, they ſuddenly recover'd of their diſtemper. Waking, they related to their Father, that they had ſeen they knew not what gods, which wip'd their Skins with a Sponge, and commanded them that they ſhould offer Sacrifices of black Beaſts at the Altar of *Dis* and *Proſerpina*, where the Potion of water was firſt brought them, making withal Nocturnal Plays and Tables covered. The Father, becauſe he ſaw no Altar there, believing that it was expected that he ſhould build one, went to the City to buy one, leaving upon the place certain Workmen to dig the foundation. They in proſecution of their Maſters command having digg'd a matter of 20 foot deep, at length beheld an Altar inſcribed to Father *Dis* and *Proſerpina*. Which being told to *Valeſius* by his Servant, he left off his purpoſe of buying an Altar, and offer'd black Sacrifices at *Terentum*, and provided Plays and cover'd Tables three whole Nights together, for that he had three Children.

5. Whoſe example *Publius Publicola*, who was the firſt Conſul, following, out of a deſire to recover the health of his Citizens, making publick Vows at the ſame Altar, offer'd certain black Oxen to *Dis* and *Proſerpina*, and caus'd Plays to be acted and Tables cover'd for three Nights together, and then cover'd the Altar with earth as it was before.

6. As Wealth increas'd, Pomp and Magnificence

was added to the Religion of Plays. To which purpose *Q. Catulus* imitating the *Campanian* Luxury, was the first that cover'd the Seats of the Spectators with Canvas. *Cn. Pompey* before any other temper'd the heat of Summer, by bringing little Streams to run along the sides of the Ways. *Cn. Pulcher* was the first that adorn'd the Scenes with variety of Colours. Which afterward *Antonie* cover'd with Silver. *Petreius* with Gold. *Q. Catulus* with Ebony. *Lucullus* made them of turn'd work. *Spinther* adorn'd them with Silver. Afterwards *Scaurus* abolishing the use of *Punick* Cloaks, brought in fashion a more exquisite kind of Garment.

7. The Gift of Gladiators Shews was first presented in *Rome* in the Ox-Market, in the Consulship of *App. Claudius* and *M. Fulvius*. Another was given by *Marcus* and *Decius* the Sons of *Brutus*, to honour their Fathers Funerals. The Shews of the Wrestlers were presented at the charge of *M. Scaurus*.

CHAP. V.

Of Frugality and Innocency.

1. *The first Golden Statue in the City.*
2. *The Civil Law, with Holidays first proclaimed.*
3. *The first examination of Witchcraft.*
4. *The first Colledge of Musicians.*
5. *The Frugality of the Antients.*
6. *The Chappel of the Goddess* Feaver.

1. NEver any man beheld a Golden Statue either in the City, or in any other part of *Italy*, till there was one erected by *M. Aelius Glabrio* to his Father, of the

the Order of Knighthood, in the Temple of Piety: Which Temple he himself dedicated in the Consulship of *Cor. Lentulus* and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*; his father having obtain'd the end of his Vow, when he had overthrown *Antiochus* at the Battle of *Thermopylæ*.

2 The Civil Law was for many Ages concealed among the most sacred *Arcana* and Ceremonies of the immortal Gods, and only known to the High-Priests; but at last made common by *Cn. Flavius* a Scribe, whose Father was a Slave manumitted: He being also made the Charioter Ædil, though to the great offence and indignation of the Nobility that were Freemen born, first ordain'd the Publication of Holy-days. Coming to visit his Colleague that was sick, and none of the Nobles, of which the Room was full, rising to let him sit, he commanded his Seat of Office to be brought him; and so in vindication of his own Honour, and scorn of their Contempt, sate down.

3. The examination of Witchcraft, formerly unknown to the Customs and Laws of the *Romans*, came to be in use upon the detection of several Crimes committed by certain ancient Matrons; who having secretly poyson'd their Husbands, being at length discovered by a Maid-servant, above an hundred and seventy suffer'd death.

4. The Colledge of Musicians drew the eyes of the common people upon them, being wont upon private and publick Spectacles to play in Consort, in vary-colour'd Habits and Masques. From thence they took farther liberty. Of old being forbid to diet in the Temple of *Jupiter*, which was the antient Custome, in great discontent they retired to *Tibur*. But the Senate not brooking the want of their service at the sacred Festivals, by their Ambassadors requested of the *Tiburtines*, that they would send um back to *Rome*. They refusing to go, the *Tiburtines* invited um to a

great Banquet, and while they were overcome with Sleep and Drink, put um in Carts, and sent um away. When they were return'd, they were restor'd to their former honour, and their priviledges of Play granted them. They us'd Masks, being asham'd of their being circumvented in drink.

5. The plain Diet of the Antients was a most certain sign of their Humanity and Continency. For then the greatest men took it for no discredit to Dine and Sup in open view. Nor had they any Banquets which they were asham'd to conceal from the eyes of the People. They were so addicted to Continence, that the use of Pulse was more frequent than Bread. And therefore that Cake, which was us'd in their Sacrifices, was made only of Barley and Salt. The Entrails were sprinkled with Barley, and they fed the Pullets whence they took their Omens, with Pulse. For of old, they thought the Offerings of their Diet, by how much the plainer it was, so much the more efficacious to appease the Gods.

6. Other Gods they ador'd, that they might do them good. But to the Disease *Feaver* they built a Temple, that she might do them the less hurt. Among which there was one in the *Palatium*, another in the Court of *Marians* Monuments, a third at the upper end of the Long Village. And there were all Remedies laid up, proper for the sick. These were found out by experience to asswage the heats of human rage, besides they preserv'd their Health by the most certain assistance of Industry: Frugality being as it were the Mother of their Sanity, an Enemy to luxurious Banquets, and altogether averse from riotous drinking, and immoderate *Venus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Forreign Inſtitutions.

1. *Frugality of the* Spartans.
2. *Their Military Cuſtome.*
3. *The* Athenian *Cuſtome againſt idle Perſons.*
4. *Their* Areopagus.
5. *Their honour of Vertue.*
6. *Their puniſhment of Ingratitude.*
7. *Various Inſtitutions of the* Maſſilienſes.
8. *The* Cii *poyſoning themſelves.*
9. *The Law of the* Maſſilienſes *concerning armed Strangers.*
10. *The Cuſtome of the* Gauls *in lending.*
11. *The Cuſtome of the* Cimbrians *and* Celtiberians *in their firſt Onſets.*
12. *The opinion of the* Thracians *of the misfortunes of Life.*
13. *The mourning of the* Lycians.
14. *The Fidelity of the* Indian *Women to their Huſbands.*
15. *Proſtitution of the* Punic *Women.*
16. *The Cuſtome of the* Perſians *in Education of Children.*
17. *How the* Numidian *Kings preſerved their Authority.*

1. THE City of *Sparta* follow'd the ſame Rules, being the neareſt to the Gravity of our Anceſtors: who continuing for ſome years moſt obedient to the ſevere Laws of *Lycurgus*, would by no means permit the eyes of their Citizens to behold the delicacies of *Aſia*; leſt being tempted with the Allurements of that Countrey, they ſhould degenerate into a voluptuous Life. For they had heard that all manner of Exceſs, all kind of unneceſſary Pleaſures did there a-

bound; And that the *Ionians* were the first that used Anointing and giving Crowns and Garlands at Feasts, and brought up the custome of a Second Course, no small incitements to Luxury. And it is no wonder, that men delighting in Labour and Patience, would not that the most indissoluble Nerves of their Countrey should be weakned and broken by the contagion of forreign Delicacies: finding it easier to decline from Vertue to Luxury, than to recede from Luxury to Vertue. Which that it was no vain fear of theirs, their Captain *Pausanias* made apparent, who after he had perform'd great Actions, was not asham'd to suffer his Fortitude to be softned with the effeminate Behaviour and Apparel of *Asia*.

2. The Armies of the same City were never wont to joyn Battle, till they had heated their Courage with the sound of their Flutes, whose Tunes went all in *Anapæstic* measures, whereby they were taught to assail their Enemies with smart and thick Blows. They also were wont to use Scarlet Coats, to hide the Blood of their Wounds. Not that the sight thereof was any terrour to them, but that their Enemies should gain no heart or Courage thereby.

3. Remarkable was the Valour of the *Lacedemonians* in War; yet no less memorable were the most prudent Customes of the *Athenians* in Peace: Among whom Sloath was ferreted out of her lurking holes, and brought to receive punishment as a Criminal, in their publick Courts of Justice.

4. There was also among them a most sacred Councel, call'd the *Areopagus*, where diligent enquiry was wont to be made what course of life every one took, and what every one did to maintain themselves; that men might be induced to follow honesty, finding so severe accompt was taken of their Actions.

5. This Council first introduced the custome of giving

giving Crowns to vertuous Citizens, encircling first the famous Brows of *Pericles*, with two little wreaths of Olive. A noble Institution, whether we look at the thing, or the Person. For Honour is the most fruitful nourishment of Vertue; and *Pericles* a most worthy person for Posterity to take the example of giving Honour to desert.

6. What shall we say of that most memorable Institution among the *Athenians?* When a Servant manumitted by his Patron, and afterwards convicted by him of Ingratitude, the Servant was thereupon deprived of his Liberty. *We dismiss thee*, said the Councel, *an impious contemner of so great a gift.* Nor could they be induced to believe that he would prove a profitable Member of the City, who was so wicked in his own Family. *Be gone therefore, and be a Servant, that knowest not the value of being free.*

7. The *Massilians* likewise to this day retain a very great strictness in Discipline, through their observance of antient Customes, eminent for their love to the *Romans*. They permit a man to make void the liberty which he has given to his Servant, if they finde the Servant to have deceived the Master three times. The fourth time they give no relief to the Master, whose own fault it was to let himself be injur'd so often. The same City is also a most strict observer of Severity; for they give no admission to Mimicks to come upon the Stage, the subject of whose Plays consisting generally in relations of Adulteries, lest the Custome of beholding should beget a Custome of committing the crime. They shut their doors against all that beg under pretence of Religion; esteeming Simulation and Superstition two things not to be endur'd. The Sword with which Criminals are put to death, hath been there ever since the City was built, so rusty, that it is scarce fit for the purpose, but still remains to shew the

great veneration which they give to antient Monuments.

There are also two Coffins at their Gates, in the one of which they put the bodies of Free-men, in the other of Servants, and so put them in a Cart to be carried to the Grave: the Funeral is performed without lamentations or crying for the Dead, making only a domestick Sacrifice, and providing a Collation for the Kindred. For what avails it to indulge Humane Passion, or to envy the Gods, because they would not share their Immortality with us? Poyson is also kept in the City, and is given to those who give sufficient reason to the *Six Hundred* (that is the name of their Senate) why they desire to die. Manly Courage being temper'd with Kindness, while the Senate takes care that they do not inconsiderately make away themselves, yet are willing to give as easie a Death as may be to those that upon good grounds desire it.

8. Which Custome I believe not to have had its original in *Gaul*, but to have been brought out of *Greece*, finding it to have been observ'd in the Island of *Ceum*, at what time going for *Asia* with *Sextus Pompeius*, I came to the City of *Julida*. It happened that there was in the City a Woman of very great Quality, but very aged, that had resolved, after accompt given to the Senate why she desired to live no longer, to make her self away with Poyson, thinking her Death would be more famous through the presence of *Pompey*. Nor could he, a person full of all Vertue, and of a sweet disposition, refuse her Petition. And therefore after he had in a most eloquent Oration, that dropt from his lips like Honey, us'd all the perswasions that might be to dissuade her from her purpose, and saw he could not prevail, he permitted her to take her course. So having past the Ninetieth year of her Age, with a great magnanimity and

cheerful

chearful Countenance, throwing her ſelf upon a Bed, which was more gayly trimm'd than ordinary, and leaning upon her Elbow, beholding *Pompey*, *The Gods*, ſaid ſhe, *whom I leave behind, not thoſe to which I am going, give thee thanks; becauſe thou neither doſt exhort me to live, nor loath to ſee me die. As for my ſelf, who have always been in Fortunes favour, leſt out of a deſire of life I ſhould finde her frowns, I am willing to change the remnant of my breath for a happy concluſion, leaving behind me two Daughters, and ſeaven Grand children.* After that exhorting them all to Unity, and dividing her Eſtate among them, giving her Cloaths and Domeſtick *Sacrata* to her Eldeſt Daughter, with a wonderful chearfulneſs ſhe took the Cup wherein the Poyſon was mixt, in her right hand: Then pouring out her Offerings to *Mercury*, and invoking his Deity to grant her a pleaſant Journey to the beſt part of the Infernal Region, greedily ſhe drank the Potion off. Then as the Poyſon ſeized her particular parts, ſhe told us; and when ſhe found it approaching to her Bowels and Heart, ſhe call'd her Daughters to do their laſt Duty of cloſing her Eyes. Our People admiring at ſo ſtrange a ſight, departed with tears however in their Eyes.

9. But to return to the City of the *Maſſilians*, from whence this Digreſſion made us wander; There is no perſon to enter their City with a Dart: But going forth again, he that received it is ready to return it again; endeavouring thereby to make their Entertainment as ſafe as courteous.

10. Going out of their Walls, we meet an antient Cuſtome of the *Gauls*, who were wont to lend Money, to receive it again in the other World; being perſwaded of the truth of the Immortality of the Soul. I ſhould call them fools, but that they were of the ſame opinion as *Pythagoras*.

11. The

11. The Philosophy of the *Gauls* was covetous and usurious; that of the *Cimbrians* and *Celtiberians* courageous and resolute; who in Battle-array rejoyced that they should gloriously and happily die, but upon their Death-beds lamented that they should perish poorly in shame and misery. For the *Celtiberians* thought it a crime to survive in Battle, when any Friend was slain, for whose preservation he had devoted his life.

12. But the People of *Thrace* deservedly challenge to themselves the praise of Wisdome, who at the Birth of Children weep, at the Funerals of Men rejoyce; taught by no other Precepts than the true condition of Human Nature. And therefore, let all Creatures but extinguish in themselves the love of Life, which compels them to act and suffer many ugly things, especially when it lies in their power to make a happy and blessed end of living.

13. Wherefore the *Lycians*, when they have any occasion of lamentation, put on Womens Apparel: that being moved with the deformity of the Habit, it might be a motive to them to make a quicker end of their sorrow.

14. But why should I insist longer upon the praise of Men, though most couragious in this kind of prudence? Let us observe the *Indian* Women, where it was the Custome for one Man to have many Wives. Among whom so soon as the Husband died, there us'd to be great strife and contention, which was the best belov'd by the dead. She that gets the Victory, triumphing for joy, is led by her Kindred to her Husbands Funeral Pile; which being set on fire, with a chearful and smiling Countenance, she throws herself into the midst of the flames, and is burnt with her Husband, accounting herself most happy in her end. Bring forth the *Cimbrian* boldness, adde to that the *Celtibe-*

Celtiberian faith, to this joyn the generous wisdom of *Thrace*, not forgetting the cunning custome of the *Lycians* in Mourning; there is none of these that excels the *Indian* Funeral, into which the pious Wife, assured to die, enters, as into her Nuptial Bed.

15. To their glory I will adde the infamy of the *Carthaginian* Dames, that by comparison it may appear more odious. They had among um the Temple of Dry *Venus*, where the Matrons were wont to meet. There, by the injury of their Bodies, they were wont to raise themselves Portions; accounting it no dishonour, to tie the honest Marriage-Knot with such a dishonest Band.

16. But the Custome of the *Persians* was more laudable, who were never wont to see their Children, till they were Seven Years old; that so they might the more easily brook their loss, if they died in their Infancy.

17. Nor was the Custome of the *Numidian* Kings to be blam'd, who were never accustom'd to give a Kiss to any Mortal. Esteeming it fitting, that Soveraign Authority should be void of all common and familiar Customes, that might lessen the Reverence due to Majesty.

CHAP. VII.

Of Military Diſcipline.

Obſerved by the *Romans.*

1. P. Scipio Emilianus *Cos.*
2. Q. Metellus Numidicus.
3. P. Rupilius *Cos.*
4. Caius Cotta.
5. Q. Fulvius Flaccus *Cenſor.*
6. A. Poſthumius Tubertus *Dictator, and* T. Manlius Torquatus.
7. Quintus Cincinnatus *Dictator.*
8. Q. Papirius Curſor *Dict.*
9. L. Calpurnius Piſo *Cos.*
10. Q. Metellus *Proconſul.*
11. Q. Fabius Maximus *Proconſul.*
12. P. African *the Greater.*
13. P. African *the Leſs.*
14. L. Emilius Paulus *Pro.*
15. *The* Roman *Senate.*

External.

1. *The* Carthaginian *Senate.*
2. Clearchus *Captain of the* Spartans.

I Now come to the principal Glory, and chief eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Empire, remaining to this day in a healthy continuance of inviolable Liberty, knit together with moſt firm and laſting cords of her Military Diſcipline, in the ſafeguard of whoſe boſome Peace and Tranquillity ſecurely repoſe.

1. *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, who received his Sirname from the ruine of *Carthage*, being ſent Conſul into *Spain*, that he might curb the inſolent ſpirit of the Citizens of *Numantium*, grown proud and lofty through the remiſneſs of the Captains his Predeceſſors, the ſame moment that he entred the Camp, made a Law, that they

they ſhould throw away all things whatſoever which they had about them, that was only for bravery and pleaſure, and otherwiſe unneceſſary. Whereupon there were above two thouſand Whores, Sutlers and Huckſters turn'd out of the Camp. Upon which the Army, being clear'd of all that luggage and filth, that lately for fear of death had ſham'd themſelves with an ignominious Truce, now refreſh'd, and recovering new vigour and courage, in a ſhort time laid the fierce and haughty *Numantium* level with the ground. Thus *Mancinus* miſerably ſurrendring himſelf, was an argument of Diſcipline Neglected; *Scipio* glorioufly triumphing, publiſh'd the reward of Diſcipline Revived.

2. *Metellus* following his example, when in the War with *Jugurth* he took the command of the Army as Conſul, corrupted through the Lenity of *Albinus*, labour'd with all his might to recover the antient Diſcipline. Nor did he aim at particular parts, but immediately reduced the whole into Order. Firſt he remov'd the Sutlers out of the Camp, and forbid Meat ready dreſt to be ſold. He permitted none of the Souldiers to have Servants or Horſes to carry their Arms, or to fetch or provide um Victuals. Then he changed the place of the Camp, and fortified himſelf in the ſame manner, as if *Jugurth* had been at hand, with Ditch and Breaſt-work. Now what was the event of Continence reſtored, and Induſtry revived? It obtain'd frequent Victories, and innumerable Trophies from that Enemy, whoſe back under an ambitious Commander, it had not been the good fortune of the *Roman* Souldiers to ſee before.

3. Nor did they a little countenance Military Diſcipline, who not regarding the affectionate ties of Kindred, did not refuſe to revenge the breach and neglect thereof to the infamy of their Families. For *Publius Rupilius*

Rupilius the Consul, in that War which he wag'd in *Sicily* against the Fugitives, banished his Son-in-Law out of his Province, for loosing negligently the Castle of *Tauromenium*.

4. *Caius Cotta* caus'd *Pub. Aurelius Pecuniola*, his near Relation, to be publickly whipt (or rather run the Gauntlet) & to serve as a common Souldier afterwards, for that through his fault, in the absence of the Consul, who going to *Messana* to consult the Auguries, had left him in command of the Army, the Fortification was burnt, and the Camp almost taken.

5. *Quintus Fulvius* Censor turn'd his Brother out of the Senate, for that he had presumed to send home a Cohort of the Legion wherein he was a Tribune, without the leave of the Consul. What more difficult for a man to do, than to send back with ignominy to his Country a person nearly related by Family and Marriage; or to use the severity of Stripes to a person allied in a long series of Blood and Kindred; or to bend his Censors frown upon the dear Relation of a Brother?

6. But our City, which hath fill'd the world with wonderful Examples of all sorts, with a double face beholds her Axes reeking with the Blood of her Commanders, lest the disturbance of Military Disciplin should go unpunish'd, pompous abroad, but the cause of private grief enough; uncertain whether to perform the office of congratulating or comforting. And therefore with doubtful thoughts have I coupled you two together, most severe observers of Warlike Discipline, *Posthumus Tubertus*, and *Manlius Torquatus*. For I apprehend a fear of sinking under that weight of Praise which ye have merited, and discovering the weakness of my Wit, while I presume to represent your Vertue as it should be. For thou, O *Posthumus* Dictator, didst cause thy victorious Son *Aulus Posthumus*

bumus to be beheaded; thy Son whom thou didſt beget to propagate the ſucceſſion of thy renowned Race, and the ſecret inſtructions of thy moſt ſacred traditions, the allurements of whoſe infancy thou hadſt cheriſh'd in thy Boſome and with thy Kiſſes, whom a Child thou hadſt inſtructed in Learning, a Man in Arms; good, couragious, and obedient both to thee and to his Countrey; only becauſe without thy command, without thy leave, he had overthrown his enemies, thy fatherly command was the Executioner. For I am certain, thine eyes, orewhelm'd with darkneſs in the brighteſt light, could not behold the great work of thy mind. But thou *Manlius Torquatus*, Conſul in the *Latine* War, didſt command thy Son to be carried away by the Officer, and to be ſlain like a Sacrifice, though he obtain'd a noble Victory, for that he had preſum'd to fight with *Geminius Metius* Captain of the *Tuſcans*, when provoked to the Combat by him. Eſteeming it better, that a Father ſhould want a couragious Son, than thy Countrey want Military Diſcipline.

7. Again, of what ſpirit think ye was *Quintus Cincinnatus* the Dictator, at that time when the *Æqui* being vanquiſhed, he compelled *Minutius* to lay down the Conſulſhip, becauſe the Enemies had beſieged his Camp? For he thought him unworthy the greateſt command, whom not his Virtue, but his Trenches and his Breaſtworks ſecur'd, and who was not aſhamed to ſee the *Roman* Arms, trembling for fear, ſhut up in their Turn-pikes. Thus the moſt commanding twelve *Faſces*, with whom remain'd the chief honour of the Senate, of the Order of Knighthood, of all the People, with whoſe Nod all *Latium*, and all the ſtrength of *Italy* was govern'd, now ſhatter'd and broken, ſubmitted to the puniſhing authority of the Dictatorſhip. And leſt the breach of Military Honour ſhould go unpuniſh'd,

puniſh'd, the Conſul, puniſher of all Crimes, muſt himſelf be puniſhed. By theſe Propitiatory Sacrifices, as I may ſo ſay; O *Mars* the Father of our Empire, when we degenerated from thy auſpicious Diſcipline, thy Deity was appeas'd: By the infamy of Kindred, Relations and Brothers, by the murder of Sons, and the ignominious degrading of Conſuls.

8. To the ſame purpoſe is that which follows. *Papirius Curſor* Dictator, when Q. *Fabius Rullianus* Maſter of the Horſe had contrary to his command brought forth the Army to Battle, though he return'd a Victor over the *Samnites*, yet neither mov'd with his Virtue, with his Succeſs, nor with his Nobility, he caus'd the Rods to be made ready, and the Conquerour to be ſtript. A ſpectacle of wonder! to behold *Rullianus*, Maſter of the Horſe, and a victorious General, his Cloaths pull'd off, his Body naked, to be lacerated with the ſtripes of an Executioner, to no other end than to ſprinkle the glorious honour of his Victories, ſo lately obtain'd, with the freſh Blood of thoſe Wounds, which he had received in the Field, drawn from his Body by the knotted ſtripes of the *Lictor*. At length the Army, mov'd by his Prayers, gave him the opportunity of flying into the City, where in vain he implored the aid of the Senate; for *Papirius* notwithſtanding perſever'd in requiring his puniſhment. Wherefore his Father, after having been Dictator, and three times Conſul, was compell'd to appeal to the People, and upon his Knees to beg the aſſiſtance of the Tribunes in the behalf of his Son. Neither by this means could the Severity of *Papirius* be reſtain'd; but being intreated by the whole City, and by the Tribunes themſelves, made a proteſtation, that he forgave the Puniſhment not to *Fabius*, but to the City of *Rome*, and the Authority of the Tribunes.

9. L. *Calpurnius Piſo* alſo being Conſul, being in *Sicily*

Sicily making war againſt the Fugitives, when *C. Titius* Commander of the Horſe being environ'd and oppreſs'd by the multitude of the Enemy, had with the reſt of his Souldiers deliver'd their Arms to the Enemy, he puniſht him with ſeveral marks of Ignominy: He commanded him to march barefoot, in the firſt Ranks, from Morning till Night, with a Jacket, the skirts whereof were cut off, and his Cloak ſlit from top to bottom: he forbad him alſo the converſe of Men, and uſe of the Baths; and the Troops which he commanded having taken away their Horſes, he divided them among the Slingers. Thus to his great honour did *Piſo* revenge the great diſhonour of his Countrey, having brought it ſo to paſs, that they who out of a deſire of Life, and deſerving to be hanged, had ſuffer'd their Arms to become the Trophies of Fugitives, and were not aſhamed to permit the ignominious yoak of Servitude to be laid upon their Liberty by the hands of Slaves, might experience the bitter enjoyment of Life, and covet that Death which they had ſo effeminately avoided.

10. Not leſs than that of *Piſo* was the proceeding of *Q. Metellus*; who at the Battle of *Contrebia* having placed five Cohorts in a certain ſtation, and ſeeing them retire through the multitude of their Enemies, he commanded them immediately to endeavour to recover their ground again; withal ſeverely adding, that if any of them flying were found in the Camp, he ſhould be uſed as an Enemy; not hoping by this means to regain what they had loſt, but to puniſh them with the manifeſt hazards of the enſuing Combat: Yet they having received this check, weary as they were, having no other encouragement but Deſpair, renewed the fight, and with the ſlaughter of their Enemies recover'd their ſtation. So that there is nothing like Neceſſity to harden humane Imbecillity.

11. In the same Province, *Q. Fabius* the Great being desirous to bring down the fierce pride of a most haughty People, forc'd his gentle disposition for a time to lay aside all Clemency, and to use himself to utmost Rigour and Severity. For he cut off the hands of all those that ran out of any Garrison of the *Romans* and were taken: That the sight of their maimed Limbs might breed in others a fear of revolting. For those rebellious Hands cut from their Bodies, and scatter'd upon the bloody Earth, taught others to beware how they committed the like Treasons.

12. Nothing could be more milde than the Elder *Africanus*; yet for the establishment of Military Discipline, he thought it convenient to borrow something of Severity from his own natural Lenity. For having taken *Carthage*, and gotten into his power all those that had fled from the *Romans* to the *Carthaginians*, he more severely punisht the *Roman* than the *Latin* Fugitives. For the first, as Deserters of their Countrey, he nail'd to the Cross; the other, as perfidious Allies, he only beheaded. I shall not urge this act any farther, both because it was *Scipio's*, and for that it is not fitting that a servile Punishment should insult over *Roman* blood, though deservedly shed, especially when we may pass to other relations not dipt in domestick Gore.

13. For the latter *Africanus*, the *Carthaginian* Power being destroy'd, made the Fugitives of other Nations to fight with Beasts in the publick Shews which he made for the people.

14. *Lu. Emilius Paulus*, after he had vanquished *Perseus*, caus'd all those that he had taken that were guilty of the same Crime to be thrown to the Elephants, that by them they might be trod to death. A most profitable Example, if we may be permitted modestly to judge of the actions of the greatest men without

out reproof. For Military Diſcipline requires a ſevere and quick way of puniſhment: For force conſiſts of Arms, which when they grow diſobedient will ſoon oppreſs others, unleſs they be brought low themſelves.

15. But it is now time to make mention, not of what has been acted by particular men, but what order the whole Senate took to preſerve and defend their Military Diſcipline. *Lucius Marcius* Tribune of the People having with wonderful courage got together the remains of the two Armies of *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*'s, which the victorious *Carthaginians* had almoſt ruin'd, and being by them unanimouſly made General, writing to the Senate a relation of his tranſactions he thus begins: *L. Marcius* Propretor. Which uſurp'd Title the Senate would not permit him to take, knowing that it was the Cuſtome for the People, not the Armies, to chooſe the General. Which being a time that the Common-wealth was in great danger, and had ſuſtain'd great Loſſes, one would have thought they ſhould have rather flatter'd the Tribune, who they ſaw ſo fairly acting for the reſtauration of their former Honour. But no Overthrow, no Merit could ſway the Senate more than their Military Diſcipline. And we may remember what a couragious Severity their Anceſtors us'd in the *Tarentine* War: Whereiu the Forces of the Common-wealth being very much weakned and broken, when they had receiv'd a great number of their Captive Fellow-Citizens, which *Pyrrhus* had ſent them of his own accord; they decreed, that they who had ſerv'd on Horſeback, ſhould ſerve among the Foot; and they who had ſerved as Foot, ſhould be lifted among the Slingers. Moreover, that none of um ſhould come within the Camp, nor be permitted to forſake the place aſſign'd them without the Camp, nor that any of um ſhould make uſe of a Tent

made of Skins. But they propounded the Ancient Cuſtome of Military Diſcipline to all thoſe that took double Spoils from the Enemy. Theſe Puniſhments made them, that were late the deformed Gifts of *Pyrrhus*, to be his moſt eager and fierce Enemies. The ſame rigour did the Senate uſe toward them that deſerted the Common-wealth at *Cannæ*: For when by the ſtrictneſs of their Decree they had reduced them to a worſe condition than they who are dead, and at the ſame time had received Letters from *Marcellus* that they would ſend um to him, to aſſiſt him in the ſtorm of *Syracuſe*; the Senate wrote back, that they were not worthy to be admitted into his Camp. But they would ſend um to him, provided he would do with um as befitted the honour of the Common-wealth, That they ſhould never be freed from Service, that they ſhould never receive any Military Reward, nor be permitted to return into *Italy* while there were any Enemies therein. Thus has Vertue alwaies deſpis'd puſillanimous minds. How hainouſly was the Senate offended that the Souldiers ſuffer'd *Q. Petellius* the Conſul, moſt couragiouſly fighting againſt the *Ligurians*, to be ſlain? For they would neither let the Stipend of the Legion go on, nor pay them any Arrears, for that they had not offer'd their Bodies to the Darts of their Enemies for the ſafety of their Emperour. And that Decree of ſo noble an Order remains a glorious and eternal Monument of *Petellius* fame, under which his Aſhes reſt renowned in the Field by his Death, in the Senate by their Revenge. With the ſame Courage, when *Hannibal* ſent them the liberty to redeem Six Thouſand *Romans* which he had taken, and which were Priſoners in his Camp, they ſcorn'd his Kindneſs; well knowing, that if Six Thouſand Young-men had reſolv'd to die bravely, they could not have been taken baſely. So that it

was

was hard to ſay, which redounded moſt to their Ignominy, that their Countrey had ſo little eſteem and care of them, or that their Enemies ſhewed ſo little fear of them. But if at any time the Senate ſhew'd themſelves ſevere in the maintenance of Military Diſcipline, certainly then they did it in a high meaſure, when they impriſon'd the Souldiers that had rebelliouſly poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Rhegium*, and *Jubellius* their Captain being dead, had of their own heads choſen *M. Cæſius* his Secretary for their Leader; and notwithſtanding that *M. Fulvius Flaccus* Tribune of the People declar'd that they proceeded contrary to the Cuſtome of their Anceſtors, yet perſiſted in their reſolution. However, that they might act with leſs envy, they order Five Hundred after they had been whipt for ſeveral ſucceſſive daies to be beheaded, ordering their Bodies to be buried, and forbidding any Lamentation or Mourning to be made for them.

FORRAIGN *Examples.*

1. This, Conſcript Fathers, was gentle and full of mildneſs, if we conſider the violence of the *Carthaginian* Senate in ordering their Warlike Affairs; whoſe Captains imprudently managing a War, though it proved ſucceſsful, were nevertheleſs nayl'd to the Croſs: Imputing what they did well, to the aſſiſting Favour of the Gods; what they did amiſs, to their own Miſcarriage.

2. *Clearchus*, Captain of the *Lacedæmonians*, preſerv'd his Military Diſcipline by a famous and notable Saying, continually pealing into the ears of his Souldiers, that they ought to fear their General far more than the Enemy. Openly declaring, that they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſame pains flying, which they were fearful to receive in fight. Nor did they admire to be

thus threatned by their Captain, when they call'd to mind their Mothers language, who when they went to Battle were wont to admonish um, that they should either return alive with their Arms, or else be brought back dead with their Arms. Thus instructed within their own houses, the *Spartans* us'd to fight. But enough of these Forreign Examples, having more plentiful, and those more happy, to glory in of our own.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Right of Triumphing.

1. *Two Laws concerning Triumphs.*
2. *The Contentions of* C. Lutatius *Consul, and* Q. Valerius *Prætor about Triumphing.*
3. Cn. Fulvius Flaccus *despising his Triumph.*
4. *Why Triumph denied to* Q. Fulvius *and* L. Opimius.
5. *Why also to* Pub. Scipio *the Greater, and* M. Marcellus.
6. *The Banquets of those that Triumphed.*
7. *Of those that never Triumph'd upon a Civil Victory.*

MIlitary Discipline being vigorously maintain'd, was that which won all *Italy* to the *Roman* Empire, together with the command of many Cities, great Kings, and mighty Nations; open'd the Streights of the *Pontick* Sea, deliver'd up the Barricadoes and Fortresses of the *Alps* and the vast Mountain *Taurus*; and of a little Cottage of *Romulus*, made it the Pillar of the whole World. Out of whose bosome since so many Triumphs have flowed, it seems seasonable now to discourse of the Right of Triumphing.

1. Some

1. Some Commanders have requir'd Triumphs to be decreed them for light Battels: and therefore there was a Law made, that no Captain ſhould triumph unleſs he had ſlain Five Thouſand of his Enemies in one Set Field. For our Anceſtors believ'd, that the Glory of our City conſiſted not in the Number, but in the Glory and Magnificence of her Triumphs. And leſt ſo brave a Law might come to be obliterated by too greedy a deſire of the Lawrel, it was ſupported with another Law, which *L. Marius* and *M. Cato* Tribunes of the People brought in. For that made it criminal for any Emperour to multiply in their Letters to the Senate, the number of Enemies ſlain or Citizens loſt. And they were alſo commanded aſſoon as they enter'd into the City, to ſwear before the City-Queſtors to the truth of what they had written to the Senate.

2. Having mention'd theſe Laws, it will be ſeaſonable to relate what was adjudged thereupon, wherein the Right of Triumphing was diſcuſs'd and debated among moſt worthy Perſonages. *C. Lutatius* the Conſul and *Q. Valerius* the Prætor had overthrown and utterly ruin'd a very great Navy of the *Carthaginians* near the Coaſt of *Sicily*, whereupon the Senate decreed a Triumph to *Lutatius* the Conſul. But when *Valerius* requeſted that a Triumph might be granted to him, *Lutatius* withſtood it, leſt through the honour of Triumph, the leſſer Authority ſhould be made equal to the greater. The contention growing higher and higher, *Valerius* ſues *Lutatius*, pretending that the *Carthaginian* Navy was not overthrown by his Conduct. *Lutatius* puts in Sureties to anſwer. The Judge between them *Atilius Calatinus* meets, before whom *Valerius* pleads, that the Conſul was lame and lay in his Litter, and that he perform'd all the Offices of the General. Then *Calatinus* before

Lutatius made his defence: Tell me (said he) *Valerius*, if you two were of contrary opinions whether to fight or not, whether were the command of the Consul or the Prætor to be obey'd? *Valerius* answered, that he could not deny but the Consul was chiefly to be obey'd. Again, said *Calatinus*, if the Consuls and your Omens were different, which were first to be follow'd? The Consuls, replied *Valerius*. Then said the Judge, Seeing that upon these two Questions, about the Chief Command and the Priority of Omens, thou *Valerius* hast confest thy Adversary to be superiour in both; I am not to make any further doubt. And therefore, *Lutatius*, though you have as yet made no Defence, I give judgment on your behalf. A Noble Judge, that in a business that was apparent, would not spend and trifle away his time. More probable and justifiable was the Cause of *Lutatius*, who defended the Right of a most Soveraign Honour. Yet was it not ill done of *Valerius* to require the Reward of a prosperous and courageously fought Battle; though it were not so lawfully demanded by him as by the other.

3. What shall we say to *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, who when the Senate had decreed him the Honour of Triumph, so much coveted by others, yet contemn'd and refus'd it? Having enough to do with other things that befel him. For he no sooner enter'd the City, but he was vext with publick Prosecutions, and at length was sent into Exile, to expiate the offences which he had committed for want of Religion.

4. Wher therefore were *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Opimius*, the first of which having taken *Capua*, and the latter forc'd the *Fregellans* to a surrender, both requested of the Senate liberty to Triumph. Both had done great things, yet both mist of their desire. Not out of any envy that the Conscript Fathers had against um, but

but out of their care of preſerving the Right of the Law; whereby it was enacted, that Triumphs ſhould be only decreed to thoſe that had enlarged the Empire, not to thoſe who had only recovered what was in the poſſeſſion of the *Roman* People before. For there is as much difference between adding what was not, and reſtoring what was, as there is between the beginning of a good Turn and the end of an Injury.

5. This Law whereof I ſpeak was ſo carefully obſerved, that Triumphs were denied to *P. Scipio* and *M. Marcellus*, though the firſt had recovered both *Spains*, and the latter had taken *Syracuſe*; by reaſon that they were ſent to the management of thoſe affairs, without being advanc'd to any publick Office of Magiſtracy. *Spain* raviſh'd from the Empire of *Carthage*, and the Head of *Sicily* cut off, yet could not the Commanders joyn their Triumphal Chariots. But to whom? To *Scipio* and *Marcellus*, whoſe very Names reſembled an eternal Triumph. But the Senate, though they coveted nothing more than to ſee crowu'd thoſe Authors of ſolid and true Vertue carrying upon their ſhoulders the ſafety of their Country, thought better to reſerve them for a more juſtly merited Lawrel.

6. In this place I am to adde, that it was the Cuſtome for the General that triumph'd to invite the Conſuls to Supper, and for them ſo invited not to go; that no perſon on the Day of Triumph ſhould appear of greater Authority, at the ſame Feaſt, than the Triumpher.

7. But though any Commander had done great things and never ſo profitable to the Common-wealth in a Civil War, yet he was not to have the Title of *Imperator*, neither were any Supplications or Thankſgivings decreed for him, nor was he to Triumph either in Chariot or Ovant. For though ſuch Victories were

were neceſſary, yet they were full of Calamity and Sorrow, not obtain'd with Forraign Blood, but with the ſlaughter of their Countreymen. Mournful therefore were the Victories of *Naſica* over *T. Gracchus*, and of *Opimius* over *C. Gracchus*. And therefore *Catulus* having vanquiſh'd his Colleague *Lepidus*, with the havock of all his Followers, return'd to the City, ſhewing only a moderate joy. *Caius Antonius* alſo, the Conquerour of *Catiline*, brought back his Army to their Camp with their Swords clean waſh'd. *Cinna* and *Marius* greedily drank Civil Blood, but did not preſently apply themſelves to the Altars and Temples of the Gods. *Sylla* alſo, who made the greateſt Civil Wars, and whoſe Succeſs was moſt cruel and inhumane, though he triumpht in the height of his power, yet as he carried many Cities of *Greece* and *Aſia*, ſo ſhew'd not one Town of the *Roman* Citizens.

I am grieved and weary of ripping up the Wounds of the Common-wealth. The Senate never gave to any one, nor did any one deſire it, while the Fathers of the City wept. But every one ſtretched out his hand for the Oaken Garland, which was the Reward of him that had ſaved the Life of a Citizen. Afterwards the eternal glory of the Imperial Family.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Severity of the Cenſors.

1. *Of* Camillus *and* Poſthumius *towards the Batchelours.*
2. *Of* Valerius Maximus *and* C. Junius Brutus *toward* Antonius.
3. *Of* Cato *toward* Flaminius.
4. *Of* Fabricius *toward* Rufinus.
5. *Of*

5. *Of* M. Ant. *and* L. Flaccus *toward* Domitius.
6. *Of* Nero *and* Salinator *to themſelves and to the People of* Rome.
7. *Of* Meſſala *and* Sempronius *to the four hundred Knights.*
8. *Of* M. Regulus *and* P. Philius *toward the remains at* Cannæ.
9. *Who after they were blemiſht came to the Cenſorſhip.*

THe moſt indiſſoluble Cord of Military Diſcipline, and the ſtrict obſervation of the ſame, admoniſh me to paſs from thence to the Cenſorſhip, the Miſtriſs and Guardian of Peace. For as the wealth of the People of *Rome*, by vertue of their Commanders, increaſt to ſuch a vaſtneſs; ſo their Modeſty, Continency and Converſations were examin'd by the Cenſors Severity. A work equalling the glory of Military Actions. For what avails it to be couragious abroad, and live ill at home? To take Cities, conquer Nations, and lay violent hands on Kingdoms, unleſs there be Reverence, Juſtice and Honour in the Courts of Law and Council? For unleſs that be, Riches heaped unto the Sky will have no ſtable Foundation. Neceſſary it is therefore to know theſe things, and to record the Acts of the Cenſors Authority.

1. *Camillus* and *Poſthumius*, being Cenſors, commanded them that lived unmarried till they were old, to bring a ſum of Money into the Treaſury by way of Penalty: deeming them worthy of further puniſhment, if they ſhould complain of ſo juſt a Conſtitution. Juſtly taxing them for not obſerving the Law of Nature in begetting, ſeeing they had receiv'd Natures benefit in being born. Seeing alſo that their Parents, by bringing them up, had oblig'd them to a debt of continuing th ir Off-ſpring. To this they added, that Fortune had given um a long time to exerciſe that Duty, and yet they to deprive themſelves of the name both of

of a Father and a Husband. Go therefore, said they, and pay that which may be useful to the numerous Posterity of others.

2. This Severity *M. Valerius Maximus* and *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus* imitating in a punishment of the same nature, put *L. Antonius* out of the Senate, for that he had repudiated a Virgin, whom he had married without consulting any of his Friends. But whether this Crime were greater than the former, I know not well to determine: though this may be said, that by the former the sacred Rites of Matrimony were only contemn'd, by the latter injur'd. With great prudence therefore the Censors thought him unworthy to have admission into the Senate.

3. Thus *Portius Cato* removed *L. Flaminius* out of the number of the Senators, for that he had in his Province caus'd a condemn'd person to loose his Head; choosing the time of execution at the will and for the sight of a Woman with whom he was in love. He might have been forborn in respect of the Consulship which he had born, and the authority of his Brother *T. Flaminius*. But the Censor and *Cato* to shew a double example of Severity, thought him the rather to be degraded, because he had with so notorious and foul a crime defil'd the Majesty of so great and high an Authority; and that he had thought it a slight matter, to give the same respect to the eyes of an Harlot delighted with humane Blood, and the suppliant hands of King *Philip*.

4. Why should I mention the Censorship of *Fabricius Luscinus*? All ages have told us, and will still declare to us, that *Cornelius Rufinus* was by him turn'd out of the Senate, because he had bought some Silver Houshold-stuff, to the value of ten Pounds, as affording a bad example of Luxury.

5. *M. Antonius* and *L. Flaccus* remov'd *Duronius* from

from the Senate, becauſe he had abrogated a Law, whereby the coſts of Banquets was limited, with very good reaſon for ſo doing. For how impudently did *Duronius* in the Pulpits for Orations utter theſe words! *There are bridles put into your mouths, moſt worthy Senators, by no means to be endured. Ye are bound and hamper'd in the bitter ſhackles of Servitude. For there is a Law made, that ye ought to be frugal. Let us abrogate therefore that command, ſo deformed with the ruſt of naſty Antiquity. For what need of Liberty, if they that will kill themſelves with Luxury, may not?*

6. Let us now produce a pair, linked together with the ſame Chain of Vertue, and ſociety in goodneſs, yet diſſenting when they came to be ſtruck with the hook of Emulation. *Claudius Nero*, and *Livius Salinator*, in the ſecond *Punick*-war, ſtrong ſupports of the Commonwealth; yet how divided was their Cenſorſhip! For when they numbered the Centuries of the Horſe, of which number, by reaſon of the ſtrength of their years, they themſelves were, when they came to the *Polian* Tribe, the Cryer ſeeing the name of *Salinator*, began to doubt with himſelf whether he ſhould call him or no; which when *Nero* underſtood, he cauſed his Colleague not onely to be cited, but to ſell his horſe, becauſe he was cõdemned by the judgement of the people. *Salinator* alſo proſecuted *Nero* with the ſame ſeverity, giving this for a reaſon: Becauſe he had not ſincerely returned into Friendſhip with him. To whom if any of the Celeſtial Deities had ſignified that they in a long ſeries of poſterity ſhould lay the foundation of our Guardian Princes Family, they would ſoon have entered into a ſtrict League of indiſſoluble kindneſs, being ſuch as were to leave their preſerved Country to thirty divided Off-ſpring. But *Salinator* adventured to caſt thirty four Tribes among the *Ærarii*, becauſe that having condemned him, they afterwards

terwards made him Conſul and Cenſor, pretending they muſt either be guilty of very great raſhneſs or perjury. The *Mœtian* Tribe onely he left void of diſgrace, who by their Suffrages judged him neither to merit Condemning, or worthy of Honour. How conſtant and reſolute a Genius had that man? who neither by the ſad event of Condemnation, nor by the multiplication of Honour, could be brought to carry himſelf otherwiſe than ſeverely in the Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth!

7. Four hundred Young-men alſo of the Order of Knighthood, being a great part thereof, patiently underwent the Cenſors Mark of diſgrace; all which *M. Valerius*, and *P. Sempronius*, taking their horſes from 'um, reduced into the Order of *Ærarii*, for that being commanded to work at the Entrenchments, they neglected to go.

8. Shameful Cowardiſe was likewiſe by the Cenſors ſeverely puniſhed: For *Attilius Regulus*, and *Furius Philus*, cauſed the Queſtor *Metellus*, and ſeveral *Roman* Knights, to be degraded among the *Ærarii*, taking their horſes from 'um, becauſe that after the overthrow at *Cannæ*, they had made a reſolution to leave *Italy*; ſetting a great mark of Infamy upon them for another thing. For being taken by *Hannibal*, and afterwards by him ſent as Embaſſadors for exchange of Priſoners, becauſe they could not obtain their requeſt, they would not return: but it was convenient for all of *Roman* blood to keep their Faith, wherefore *Regulus* the Cenſor noted them for Perjury; whoſe Father rather choſe to ſuffer utmoſt torment, than break his word with the *Carthaginians*. This Cenſorſhip tranſlated it ſelf out of the City into the Camp, which would that the Enemy ſhould neither be feared nor deceived.

9. Two Examples, being alike, we have thought fit to

to adde. *C. Geta* being remov'd by *L. Metellus* and *Cn. Domitius* Censors from the Senate, was afterwards made Censor himself.

Also *M. Valerius Messala* having been disgraced by the Censor, was afterward advanced to the Censors place. For such Disgrace sharpens Virtue; Shame stirring them up to use all their endeavors to become worthy Citizens, to whom the Censorship ought to be rather offer'd, than taken from them.

CHAP. X.

Of Majesty.

Of the ROMANS.

1. Q. Metellus Numidicus *before the Judges.*
2. *Of the Elder* Africanus *before* Antiochus, *and others.*
3. *Of* Æmilius Paulus *among the* Macedonians.
4. *Of the Greater* Africanus *to the King* Massiniſſa *and* Carthaginians.
5. *Of* Rutilius *the Exile among the Cities of* Asia.
6. *Of* Marius *proſcrib'd among the* Minturnians.
7. *Of* Cato Uticenſis *in the Senate.*
8. *The ſame towards the People of* Rome.

Of FORRAINERS.

1. Harmodius *and* Ariſtogiton *to* Xerxes.
2. Xenocrates *among the* Athenians.

THere is also that Majesty among Illustrious Men, as it were a private Censorship, without the Honour of Tribunals, without the attendance of Officers, powerful in the obtaining of Greatness.

1. For what greater Honour could be given to any one, than what was given to *Metellus*, though he stood accus'd

accus'd of a Crime. For when he pleaded for himself upon a charge of Bribery, and his Accompts were demanded by his Accusers, and were brought forth to be inspected, the whole Council refused to look upon them, lest they should seem to doubt of the truth of any thing that was therein contained. For the Judges lookt upon the Life of so great a man, as an argument that he had prudently administred the Common-wealth. And thought it an unworthy thing, to ballance a little Wax and a few Writings with the Integrity of so famous a Person.

2. But what wonder, that due honour was given to *Metellus* by his Fellow-citizens, which an enemy did not refrain to render to the Elder *Africanus*? For *Antiochus*, in the War which he made against the *Romans*, having taken his Son Prisoner, not onely honourably entertained him, but also sent him to his Father, laden with Royal Gifts, though he were then almost driven out of his Kingdom by him. But the enraged King rather chose to reverence the Majesty of so great a man, than revenge his own misfortune. To the same *Africanus* being retired to his Country-house in the Village of *Liternium*, several Captains of Pirates being in the same place, came to see him: He believing they came to do him some mischief, placed a Guard of his Domestick Servants upon the top of his house, being well prepared with force and courage to beat them off. Which when the said Captains perceived, immediately sending back their Souldiers, and throwing their Arms away, they approach to the Lord, declaring themselves to be his friends, requesting the sight and company of so great a man, as it had been a favour from Heaven, and desiring him to vouchsafe them the secure spectacle of his greatness. Which words when the Servants related to *Scipio*, he commanded the doors to be unlock'd, and the Captains to be let in; who reverencing

cing the Threſhold as it had been ſome ſacred Altar, or Religious Temple, with great eagerneſs approached to kiſs his hands. And after they had ſpent a long time in admiration of him, leaving great Gifts in the Porch, ſuch as they us'd to offer to the Immortal Gods, they departed to their Ships. What could be more noble than this effect and fruit of Majeſty? What more pleaſing to behold or enjoy? His enemy appeas'd their wrath with admiration. His Preſence ſtupified the joyful eyes of the Pyrats. Should the Stars falling from Heaven offer themſelves to men, they could not be capable of greater adoration.

3. This hapned to *Scipio* being alive; this other to *Æmilius Paulus* being dead. For when his Funerals were celebrated, and that by chance certain Princes of *Macedon* were then abiding at *Rome* as Embaſſadors to the Senate, they willingly offer'd themſelves to carry the Funeral Bed. Which will ſeem ſo much the greater Honour, conſidering that the forepart of the Bier was adorn'd with the Trophies of his *Macedonian* Conqueſts. For how great muſt be the honour which they gave to *Paulus*, whom they would not refuſe to carry, with the Enſignes of their own calamity in the face of all the people! Which Spectacle added to his Funeral a reſemblance of another Triumph. For thus did *Macedon* render thee, O *Paulus*, illuſtrious twice in our City: by their Spoils, ſafe and victorious; venerable in his Death, by their Shoulders.

4. Nor was it a ſmall honour done to thy Son *Scipio Æmilianus*, whom thou giving in Adoption, wouldſt have to be the Ornament of two Families. For being but a Young-man, and ſent by *Lucullus* the Conſul out of *Spain* into *Africa*, the *Carthaginians* and *Maſſiniſſa* made him Arbitrator of the conditions of Peace, as if he had been Conſul and Emperour. *Carthage* ignorant of her Deſtiny: For that very glory

of aſpiring Youth, by the indulgence of Gods and Men, was preſerv'd for the ruine of that City. Inſomuch that being taken, it gave him the Sirname of *Africanus*; being deſtroyed, it occaſion'd the riſe of the *Cornelian* Family.

5. What more miſerable than Condemnation and Exile? Yet the Conſpiracy of the Publicans could not avail to diminiſh the Authority of *Publius Rutilius*. Who going into *Aſia*, all the Cities of that Province, hearing where he was retir'd, ſent their Ambaſſadors to attend him. Who could now judge him an Exile, but rather a Triumpher in ſuch a place?

6. *Marius* alſo, being caſt down into the depth of utmoſt Miſery, eſcapt out of the jaws of danger, by the benefit of his Majeſty. For a publick Slave, a *Cimbrian* by his Country, being ſent to kill him, as he lay ſhut up in a private Houſe in *Minturnum*, durſt not attempt him, with his Sword drawn, though an old Man, unarm'd, and almoſt famiſht; but ſtruck blind with the brightneſs of his Countenance, he flung away his Sword, and aſtoniſh'd and trembling ran away. For the Slaughter of the *Cimbrians* preſented it ſelf before his eyes; and the Calamity of his vanquiſh'd Nation quell'd his Courage. The Immortal Gods deeming it an unworthy thing, that *Marius* ſhould be ſlain by one ſingle perſon of a Nation, who had ſubdued the whole. The *Minturnians* alſo taken with the Majeſty of his Perſon, though now under the burthen of Miſery, and unavoidable Deſtiny, yet preſerv'd him ſafe: Nor could the moſt ſevere Victory daunt them, for fear leſt *Sylla* ſhould revenge their preſervation of *Marius*; though *Marius* himſelf might have been ſufficient to deter them from preſerving *Marius*.

7. The admiration alſo of the ſtout and vertuous Life of *Porcius Cato*, render'd him ſo wonderful to the Senate,

Senate, who having prefix'd a day for the Publicans to answer, contrary to *Cæsar*'s will, and being therefore by his command carried by the Lictor to Prison, the whole Senate was not ashamed to follow him; which thing did not a little soften the perseverance of his divine Soul.

8. At another time, the same person beholding the Floral Plays which *Messius* the Ædil set forth, the people were ashamed to require that the Mimicks should appear naked; which when he understood from *Favonius*, his great friend, that sate close by him, he departed out of the Theatre, lest his presence should interrupt the custome of the Show, whose departure the people loudly applauding, renewed the ancient custome of Jesting in the Scenes, confessing that they attributed more to the Majesty of one man, than they claimed for the sake of the Generality. To what Riches, to what Power, to what Triumphs, was this priviledge granted before? A small Patrimony, Manners restrained within the bounds of Continence: a small train of Followers, whose shut against Ambition: One Image of his Paternal Genealogy; not the most comely Aspect, but a Vertue hightned with all perfections. Hence it was, that whoever would Characterize a just and famous Citizen, described him by the name of a *Cato*.

EXTERNAL.

1. We must give some place also to Forraign Examples, that being mix'd with those of our own Nation, the variety may be the more delightful. *Xerxes* having taking the City of *Athens*, carried away the brazen Statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, who endeavoured to free that City from Tyranny; which a long time after *Seleucus* taking care to return to their proper places, when they came into the Haven of

Rhodes, the *Rhodians* inviting them that brought them into their City, laid the Statues upon the ſacred Cuſhions of the Gods. Nothing more happy than ſuch a Memory, that gave ſo large a Veneration to a little Braſs.

2. How great Honour was alſo given by the *Athenians* to *Xenocrates*, famous for his equal Piety and Wiſdome! who when he approached the Altar, being neceſſitated to give his teſtimony in confirmation that all which he had ſpoken was truth; all the Judges roſe and forbid him openly to take his Oath, believing it proper to grant that to his Sincerity, which they were not to remit to themſelves in the place of giving Sentence.

LIB. III.

CHAP. I.

Of Towardlineſs.

Examples whereof among the *Romans* in

1. Emilius Lepidus, *a boy.*
2. Cato *of* Utica.
3. Caſſius Longinus.

EXTERNAL *in*

1. Alcibiades *the* Athenian.

I Will now touch upon ſome certain Infancies and Elements of Vertue, and of a Soul that in proceſs of time is to advance to the top of Glory: Relating the taſtes thereof given from the certain Experiments of Towardlineſs.

1. *Emilius Lepidus*, yet a boy, going into the field, kill'd an Enemy, and ſav'd a Citizen; in memory of which action there is in the Capitol a Statue garniſh'd and girt with a Senator's virile Robe, by order of the Senate placed there; eſteeming it unjuſt that he ſhould not be of age for Honour, that was ſo ripe in Vertue. *Lepidus* prevented what was to Age ordained, by his Celerity in doing bravely; carrying away a double Honour out of the Battel, of which his years ſcarce admitted him to be a ſpectator: For the Arms of men preparing for Combat, drawn Swords, the flight of Darts, the noiſe of Horſe-men charging, the furious violence of Armies joyning, ſtrikes terrour into young

men. Among all which the childhood of the *Emilian* Family was able to deserve a Crown, by carrying away the spoils of his Enemy.

2. This Courage was not wanting in the Childhood of *M. Cato:* For he being bred up in the house of *M. Drusius* his Uncle, the *Latins* came to him then Tribune of the people, requesting a City. At which time the boy being requested by *Poppedius* Prince of the *Latins*, lying at *Drusius* house, to speak on their behalf to his Uncle, with an unmov'd countenance made answer, He would not: and being again and again importun'd, continu'd in his resolve. Then *Poppedius* taking him up into the highest part of the house, threatned to throw him down headlong, unless he would yield to his request; but nothing could make him alter his mind: Which made them cry out, *Happy is it for us* Latins, *and* Allies, *that this is but a Youth, from whom, were he a Senator, it were impossible for us to obtain our Petition.* For in his tender minde *Cato* retain'd the Gravity of the whole Court; and by his perseverance frustrated the *Latins*, who had a desire to learn the Laws and Customs of our City.

The same person coming in his Virile Robe to kiss the hand of *Sylla*, and seeing the heads of the proscribed persons brought into the Porch of his house, moved with the horridness of the Spectacle, asked his School-master *Sarpedon*, Why there was no body to be found that would kill so great a Tyrant? Who making answer, That men wanted not will, but opportunity, his person being so strongly guarded; The Lad desired he might have a Sword given him, affirming, He could easily kill him, as being wont to sit upon his bed-side. His master perceived his courage, but would not allow of his intention; and afterwards always brought him to *Sylla* to be examined. Nothing than this more admirable. A Lad taken in the Work-house

of

of Cruelty, fear'd not a Victor, who at that time murder'd Conſuls, whole Towns, Legions, and the greateſt part of the Order of Knighthood. Had *Marius* been in his place himſelf, he would have ſooner conſulted his own ſafety, than the Death of *Sylla*.

3. Whoſe Son *Fauſtus* had a good Cuff on the Ear given him by *C. Caſſius* his School fellow, for ſaying in vindication of his Father's Proſcriptions, that had he been a Man, he would have done the ſame. A worthy hand, that would not embrue it ſelf in the blood of his Countrey.

EXTERNAL.

1. And to repeat ſomething of the *Grecians*, that *Alcibiades*, whoſe Vertues or whoſe Vices were moſt pernicious to his Countrey, we cannot ſay; for with the one he deceiv'd his Citizens, with the other he oppreſs'd um: He being a Youth, and coming to his Uncle *Pericles*, and beholding him ſitting melancholy in a private place, aſk'd him, why he ſhewed ſo much trouble in his Countenance. Who replying, that he had by command of the City built the Out-gates of the Caſtle of *Minerva*, and was not able to give any accompt of the vaſt Treaſure ſpent in the ſervice, and that therefore he was troubled: Rather ſhould you endeavour, ſaid the Boy, to finde out a way, how you ſhould give no accompt. Thus a moſt great and wiſe man, not able to counſel himſelf, follows the advice of a Child, and ſo order'd it, that the *Athenians* engaged in a ſharp War with their Neighbours, had no time to look after Accompts. But let the *Athenians* conſider, whether they had moſt reaſon to lament or be glad for the Birth of *Alcibiades*; whoſe Stories fluctuate in a doubtful opinion between admiration and deteſtation of the perſon.

CHAP. II.

Of Fortitude.

ROMAN *Examples whereof are*

1. M. Horatius Cocles.
2. Clelia *the Virgin.*
3. Romulus.
4. A. Cornelius Coſſus.
5. M. Marcellus.
6. *The Duellers,* T. Manlius Torquatus, M. Valerius Corvus, *and* P. Scipio Æmilianus.
7. C. Atilius.
8. *The* Roman *Knights at the Battle of* Verrugo.
9. *The ſame in the Fight againſt the* Samnites.
10. *The* Roman *Souldiers in holding in the* Punic *Fleet.*
11. *A* Roman *Souldier at the Battle at* Cannæ.
12. Q. Licinius Craſſus *Proconſ.*
13. Q. Metellus Scipio *Proconſ.*
14. M. Cato *of* Utica.
15. Porcia.
16. M. Cato *Son of the great* Cato.
17. Scipio Naſica.
18. Emilius Scaurus.
19. Julius Cæſar *Proconſ.*
20. *Three Soldiers,* Vibius Acceus, Valerius Flaccus, T. Pedanius.
21. Q. Cotius Achilles.
22. C. Attilius.
23. Cœſius Scæva.
24. L. Sicinius Dentatus.

FORRAIN.

1. Jubellius *of* Campania.
2. Gobrias *the* Perſian.
3. Leonidas *the* Spartan.
4. Othryadas *the* Spartan.
5. Epaminondas *a* Theban.
6. Theramenes *of* Athens.
7. Theogenes *of* Numantium.
8. *The Wife of* Aſdrubal.
9. Harmonia *the Daughter of King* Gelo.

Having

HAving done with the beginnings and growth of Vertue, we will now profecute the act it ſelf, whoſe moſt ponderous force and efficacious nerves conſiſt in Fortitude. Nor am I ignorant, Great Founder of our City, *Romulus*, that the firſt honour of this nature ought to be aſſign'd to thee: but firſt ſuffer me, I beſeech thee, to prevent thee with an Example, to which thou thy ſelf doſt owe ſomething of admiration; ſeeing that without the benefit thereof *Rome* it ſelf, thy own work, had not become ſo famous.

1. The *Hetrurians* making an irruption into the City over the *Sublician* Bridge, *Horatius Cocles* kept the farther end thereof, and with an indefatigable Fight ſuſtain'd the whole body and force of the Enemy, till the Bridge was broken behind him; and when he ſaw his Countrey freed from imminent danger, flung himſelf armed into *Tibur*; whoſe Fortitude the Immortal Gods admiring, rewarded him with a ſafe coming off. Being neither hurt with the height of the Fall, nor the weight of his Armour, nor touch'd with the Darts that flew upon every ſide of him. And thereby he drew the eyes of all his Fellow-citizens, of all his Enemies upon his own ſingle perſon; the one amazed with admiration, the other in a trance between joy and fear. And ſeparated two great Armies cloſely engaged; repelling one, and defending the other. And laſtly, by his ſingle Strength was as great a guard to our City with his Shield, as *Tibur* with her Channel. And therefore the *Hetrurians* departing might well ſay, They had vanquiſh'd the *Romans*, but were beaten by one *Horatius*.

2. *Clelia* makes me almoſt forgetful of my purpoſe: Daring a moſt noble Enterprize at the ſame time, againſt the ſame Enemy, and in the ſame *Tibur*. For being given in Hoſtage among other Virgins to *Porſenna*,

Senna, she escap'd the Watch in the Night-time, and getting a horse, she presently got to the River, which she swam over; freeing her Country not onely from a Siege, but from fear of danger, holding out a Light of Vertue to men.

3. I now return to *Romulus*, who being provoked to Combat by *Acro* King of the *Cenicenses*, though he believed himself Superiour both in the number and courage of his Souldiers, and that it was safer for him to fight with his whole Army than in single Combat, with his own right hand he snatch'd away the Omen of Victory: nor did fortune fail his undertaking; for having slain *Acro*, and vanquished his Enemies, he brought away rich spoils and trophies, which he offer'd to *Jupiter Feretrius*. For which let this suffice: for Vertue consecrated by publick Religion, needs no private praise.

4. Next to *Romulus* is *Cornelius Cossus*, who consecrated his spoils to the same Deity, when being Master of the Horse, when he had slain the Captain of the *Fidenates* in battel. Great was *Romulus* in the beginning of this commenced Glory: and much was gained by *Cossus*, for that he would imitate *Romulus*.

5. Nor ought we to separate the memory of *M. Marcellus* from these Examples, in whom there was so great a courage, that he set upon the King of the *Gauls* environ'd with a great Army neer the River *Po*, onely with a few Horsemen, whose head he presently cut off, and spoil'd him of his arms, which he dedicated to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

6. The same Vertue, and the same manner of Combat *T. Manlius Torquatus*, *Valerius Corvus*, and *Emilianus Scipio*, made use of: for they voluntarily challeng'd the Captains of the Enemy, and slew them; but because they did those actions under the command of others, they did not dedicate their spoils to *Jupiter Feretrius*.

The

The ſame *Scipio Emilianus*, being in *Spain* under the command of *Lucullus*, at the ſame time that *Intercaria* a ſtrong Town was beſieged, was the firſt that got upon the Walls. Neither was there any perſon in the whole Army, conſidering his Nobility, his hopeful Youth, and future Acts, whoſe ſafety ought to have been more regarded and conſulted. But then the moſt noble Young men, to enlarge and defend their Country, ſuſtain'd the greateſt pains and perils; deeming it below themſelves to excel in Dignity and not in Vertue. Therefore *Emilianus* choſe a Warlike life, which others for the hazard thereof avoid.

7. Among theſe, Antiquity offers a moſt famous Example of Fortitude. The *Romans* being overthrown by the Army of the *Gauls*, and forced to retire into the Capitol; and well knowing the Walls of their Fortreſſes not able to receive their whole number, took a neceſſary reſolution to leave their old people in the open City, that the young men might be the better enabled to defend what was left. Yet at that moſt miſerable and calamitous ſeaſon, was not our City forgetful of their priſtine Vertue: for though deprived of their Honour, they ſate with their doors open, in their Running-chairs, with the Habits of their Magiſtracy and Prieſthood, that in their night of ſorrow they might retain the Splendor and Ornaments of their paſt life, and might encourage the people more courageouſly to undergo the burthen of their Calamity. Their Aſpect was Venerable in the ſight of their Enemies, who were not a little moved at the Novelty of what they ſaw, conſidering the magnificence of their Ornaments, and their ſtrange kinde of boldneſs. But who could imagine, but that the *Gauls*, now Victors, would ſoon have turn'd their admiration into Laughter, and into all manner of Contumely? Therefore *Caius Attilius* would not ſtay to expect that injury; for

for he fiercely laid his Stick cross the pate of a *Gaul* that too familiarly stroaked his Beard, offering his body freely to the Souldier that out of madness came rushing to kill him. Thus Vertue knows not how to be taken, and Patience knows no disgrace. To yield to Fortune it accompts sadder than any death; and it invents new and generous kinds of perishing, if he may be said to perish that comes to such an end.

8. We are now to give due honour and glory to the *Roman* Youth, who when *C. Sempronius Attarinus*, Consul, had fought with ill success at the battel of *Verrugo*, against the *Volsci*, left our Battel just upon the point of flying, should receive a Rout, dismounting from their Horses, immediately rallied into Foot-companies, and broke the Enemies Ranks; who being thus forced to retire, the *Roman* Youth possessed themselves of the next Hills, and so ordered it, that the *Volsci* turning all their Force upon them, were the cause that our Legions got in the mean time a very great refreshment to confirm their Courage. And thus while they thought of obtaining the Trophies, the night separated both Armies, uncertain whether they parted Victors or vanquish'd.

9. A noble Flower of the Order of Knighthood was he also, by whose wonderful Fortitude *Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, Master of the Horse, was acquitted of a Crime which he was like to have fallen into, of loosing a Battel to the *Samnites*: For *Papyrius Cursor* being gone to the City to renew the inspection of Entrails, he was left chief Commander in his absence: And although he were doubtful of leading the Army out to battel, yet at length joyning battel with the Enemy, he fought not so unsuccessfully as rashly: For without question he had the worst. At which the Young Nobility pulling the bridles off their horses, spurr'd them with all their might against the very fa-

ces

ces of the Enemy, by an obſtinate Gallantry reſtoring a Victory wrung out of the hands of the Enemy, and the hope of *Rullianus*, which his Country now conceived of his being the greateſt of our Citizens.

10. But of what a prodigious ſtrength were thoſe Souldiers, who wading the ſlippery Sea as they had been on firm Land, hal'd back the *Punick* Fleet by main ſtrength to the ſhore, though endeavouring to fly with the labour of all their Oars?

11. About the ſame time, and of the ſame repute was that Souldier, who at the Battel of *Cannæ*, where *Hannibal* rather brake the power than the courage of the *Romans*, when his wounded hands were unable to hold his Arms, graſping a *Numidian* about the neck that came to ſtrip him, he bit off his Ears and his Noſe, expiring in the midſt of that revenge. An odde kinde of Event in fight, where the party killed is ſtronger than he that kills him: For the *Carthaginian* liable to revenge, rejoyc'd the dying perſon, and the *Roman* was his Revenger at the very concluſion of his life.

12. *Publius Craſſus* making War in *Aſia* with *Ariſtonicus*, being ſet upon by the *Thracians*, of which he had a great number for his aſſiſtance, between *Smyrna* and *Elea*; for fear he ſhould come into their power, he avoided the ſhame by reſolving to die: For he thruſt his Riding-rod into the eye of one of the *Barbarians*, who enraged with the pain thereof, thruſt *Craſſus* into the ſide with his Cutlace; and while he revenges himſelf, freed the *Roman* Emperour from the ſhame of having loſt his Honour. *Craſſus* ſhewed Fortune that ſhe intended to have puniſhed a perſon altogether unworthy of ſo great an Indignity, as being one that not onely prudently but couragiouſly broke the ſnares which ſhe had laid to entrap his Liberty, and reſtored his own Dignity to himſelf, although now given to *Ariſtonicus*.

13. The

13. The same resolution *Scipio* made use of, who having unsuccessfully endeavour'd to defend the cause of *Pompey* his Son-in-Law in *Africa*, endeavour'd to fly into *Spain*; but understanding that the Ship wherein he was, was taken by the Enemy, he ran himself through, and so falling down upon the Poop, when *Cæsar*'s Souldiers asked for their Commander, he made answer, The Commander is well: having power only to speak so much as to testifie, to his eternal praise, the Greatness of his Minde.

14. Not less the Moniment of *Utica* were thy last breathings, mighty *Cato*; out of whose Wounds flowed more Glory than Blood. For with a fierce Constancy lying upon the Sword, thou wert a most noble Example of Instruction, That to all good Men Dignity and Honour without Life, is far better than Life without Honour.

15. Whose Daughter had no Womanish Spirit: Who knowing the resolution that her Husband *Brutus* had taken to kill *Cæsar*, the night before the day wherein that most horrid act was committed, assoon as *Brutus* was gone out of the Chamber, she call'd for a Razor, pretending to pare her Nails; and as if she had let it fall by chance, gave her self a Wound therewith. Upon the cry of the Maids *Brutus* coming in, began to chide her that she had took the Barber's trade out of his hands. To whom she privately whisper'd, This is no rash action of mine; but as things now stand, a most certain proof of my Love towards thee. For I was resolv'd to try, if thy purpose should not succeed according to thy desire, how bravely and patiently I could kill my self.

16. More happy in his Offspring was the Elder *Cato*, out of whose Loins sprang the Family of *Porcius*: Who being in battle sorely prest upon by his Enemy, his Sword fell out of the Scabbard; which though he saw

ſaw encompaſs'd with ſuch numbers of his Enemies, yet ſuch was his obſtinacy to recover it, that he would not give over, till he had done it: ſo that at length he ſeem'd not to have wrung it out of the hands of danger, but to take it up in ſecurity. Which ſight ſo terrified his Enemies, that the next day they came to him to beg for Peace.

17. The Fortitude of the Gown may be mixt with Warlik Actions, deſerving the ſame honour in Courts of Juſtice as in the Camp. When *T. Gracchus*, having got the favour of the People by his profuſeneſs, endeavour'd to oppreſs the Common-wealth, and openly declar'd, that the Senate being put to death, all things ought to be tranſacted by the People; The Senate being ſummon'd into the Temple of Faith by *Mucius Scævola* Conſul, began to conſult what at ſuch a time to do: and all being of opinion, that the Conſul ought to govern the Common-wealth by force of Arms, *Scævola* denied that he would do any thing by force. Then replyed *Scipio Naſica*, Becauſe (ſaith he) the Conſul, while he follows the courſe of Law, doth that which will bring both the Law and all the *Roman* Empire in jeopardy; I as a private perſon offer my ſelf to be commanded, and to command according to your Will. Then lapping his left hand in his upper Coat, and liſting up his right, he openly proclaim'd, *They who deſire the ſafety of the Common-wealth, let um follow me:* at which words being followed without delay by the honeſt part of the Citizens, he brought *Gracchus* to the Puniſhment which he deſerved.

18. Alſo when *Saturninus* Tribune of the people, the Pretor *Glaucia*, and *Equitius* deſigned Tribune of the people, had raiſed moſt terrible Seditions in our City, and no body durſt oppoſe themſelves againſt the fury of the people; *Emilius Scaurus* was the firſt that adviſed *C. Marius* the ſixth time Conſul, that he ſhould defend

defend the Laws and Liberty by the Sword; and presently commanded Arms to be brought, and being come, put them upon his aged body, now almost quite wasted with Age; and then leaning upon his Dart, stood before the door of the Council-house; with the small remnants of his life, keeping the Commonwealth from expiring: For the constancy of his minde encourag'd the Senate and the whole Order of Knighthood to revenge.

19. But as we have hitherto related the Fortitude of Arms and Arts, let us remember the sacred *Julius*, the chief Glory of all the Stars, the truest Pattern of Vertue. When he saw his men almost fainting through the innumerable multitude and fury of the *Nervæ*, taking a Shield out of a Souldiers hand, that he beheld fighting but weakly, he began under the covert thereof to behave himself with great Vigour; by which act he infused Courage into the whole Army, and restored the tottering fortune of the Battel. The same person seeing the Eagle-bearer of the *Martian* Legion with his back turn'd in a posture of flight, catching him by the Jaws he brought him back to his place again; and then stretching his right hand toward the Enemy, he cry'd out, *Why dost thou go this way? yonder is the Enemy which thou art to fight with.* Thus with his hands one Souldier, with his severe reprehension, corrected the timorousness of all the Legions, and taught them who were ready to be overcome, how to vanquish.

20. But that we may proceed to one act of Manly Vertue: When *Hannibal* besieged the *Roman* Army in *Capua*, *Vibius Acceus*, Colonel of the *Pelignian* Cohort, threw an Ensigne over the *Carthaginian* Rampire, cursing himself and his fellow-Souldiers if ever they let the Enemy enjoy it; and so to recover it again, he was the first that made the Assault, the whole Cohort following him: Which when *Valerius Flaccus*, a Tribune

of

of the third Legion, turning to his own, ſaid, *I ſee we are come here to be Spectators of other mens Vertue; but far be it from us to ſuffer the Glory of the* Romans *to give place to the Valour of the* Latins. *For my own part, I deſire either an honourable death, or a happy Iſſue of my venturouſneſs; therefore am reſolved to fall on though I am alone.* Theſe words being heard, *Pedanius* the Centurion catching up the Enſigne, and holding it in his right hand, *Thus*, ſaid he, *ſhall be with me within the Enemies Rampire: Let them follow that are unwilling it ſhould be taken.* With that he flew into the *Carthaginian* Camp, drawing the whole Legion after him. Thus the couragious Temerity of three men, made *Hannibal* who thought himſelf Maſter of *Capua*, hardly to be ſafe in his own Camp.

21. Neither was *Q. Curius* any thing behinde them in Fortitude; who for his ſtoutneſs was ſirnamed *Achilles:* For not to reckon up all his famous Actions, we ſhall make appear by two Atchievements onely, how great a Warriour he was. In the time that *Metellus* was Conſul, he was ſent a Legate into *Spain*, carrying on the *Celtiberian* War as Lieutenant under the Conſul: hearing that he was challenged out to fight by a certain Young man of that Nation, though he were then juſt going to Dinner, he cauſed his Arms and his Horſe to be privately conveyed out of the Camp, leſt the Conſul ſhould forbid him, or otherways hinder him; and following the *Celtiberian*, that was vauntingly curvetting to and fro about the field, ſlew him, and taking the ſpoils of his dead Enemy, return'd Triumphing to the Camp. He alſo compelled *Pireſius*, one of the moſt noble and ſtouteſt among the *Celtiberians*, who alſo gave him a particular Challenge, to yield to him: Nor was the noble Youth aſham'd to give him his own Sword and Souldiers Coat in the view of both Armies. And alſo requeſted, that ſo ſoon

as there was Peace between the *Celtiberians* and the *Romans*, that there might be a ſtrict League of Friendſhip between them.

22. Nor muſt we paſs by *C. Attilius*; who being a Souldier of the tenth Legion, and fighting on *Cæſar*'s behalf in a Sea-engagement, when they had cut off his right hand with which he held a Ship of the *Maſſilians*, took hold of the Veſſel with his left: nor did leave fighting till the Ship was taken and ſunk. The Valour alſo of *Cynægyrus* the *Athenian*, whoſe pertinacy in purſuit of the Enemy was not unlike this, *Greece*, ſo fluent in extolling the Praiſes of her own Hero's, has ſufficiently inculcated into the memory of Poſterity.

23. The Naval-glory of *Attilius*, requires that we ſhould rehearſe the praiſe of *Cæſius Scæva* a Centurion, under the command of the ſame Empires: For he maintaining a Caſtle which was committed to his charge, and which a Captain of *Pompey*'s was ſent to take with a great number of men, he ſlew all that adventured to come neer; and fighting afoot without the leaſt giving back, at length fell upon a vaſt heap of people that he had ſlain. His head, ſhoulders, and thighs were cut and mangled, his eyes poaked out, his Target pierced through in a hundred and twenty places. Such Souldiers did the Diſcipline of Divine *Julius* breed; of which the one with the loſs of his right hand, the other with the loſs of his eyes, terrified their Enemies: The one after his loſs a Victor, the other a looſer, yet not vanquiſhed.

But thy invincible Courage, O *Scæva*, in every part of the nature of things, I know not how to extol with admiration enough, becauſe by thy excellent Vertue thou haſt left it doubtful, whether thou didſt make a more noble Fight at Sea, or ſpeak a more illuſtrious Speech by Land. For in the War wherein *Cæſar* not con-

content to limit his fame within the bounds of the Ocean, laid his celestial hands upon the Isle of *Britain*, being carried with Four of his Souldiers, and set ashoar upon a Rock near the Land, which the Enemy had possest with a very strong Army, after the Ebb, by the falling of the water, had made the passage easie from the Island to the Rock, which was divided before; being assaulted with a very great number of the Barbarians, *Scæva* only keeping his station immoveable, the Darts flying about his ears, and the Enemy every way endeavouring to assail him, fix'd in the Bodies of his Adversaries as many Piles with his single right hand, as would have serv'd five Souldiers for a Battle of a whole days continuance: at length, drawing his Sword and beating back his Enemies, sometimes with the Point, and sometimes with the Hilt, he became such a spectacle of Wonder, not only to the *Romans*, but to the *Britains* also, which none but those that beheld it, could have imagin'd. At length, Anger and Shame forc'd them that were tir'd to do their utmost, when he, run through the Thigh, his Face batter'd with Stones, his Head-piece bruised in several places, commits himself to the Sea, and laden with two Coats of Mail, escap'd through the Waves, which he had dyed with the Blood of his Enemies. Coming to his General, not having lost his Arms, but well bestow'd um, when he deserv'd his praise, he begg'd his pardon. Great in fight, but greater in the remembrance of Military Discipline: Therefore by the best Esteemer and Discerner of Virtue, both thy deeds and words were rewarded with the honour of a Centurions command.

24. But let the Memory of *Luc. Sicinius Dentatus* conclude all the *Roman* Examples of the Fortitude of the *Roman* Warriours; whose Deeds, and the Rewards of his Actions, may be thought to exceed the limits of

belief; but for the credit of the Authors, among whom we finde *M. Varro*, who atteſt the ſame in their Memorials, whom they affirm to have been in an Hundred and Twenty pitch'd Battels: being endued with that Courage of Mind and Strength of Body, that he ſeem'd to carry away the greateſt ſhare of the Victory: And of theſe Battles there were Eight wherein he fought upon Challenges, while both Armies lookt on. He is ſaid to have ſaved fourteen Citizens, to have received forty five Wounds upon his Breaſt, not having one Scar upon his Back. He followed nine ſeveral Triumphal Chariots of ſeveral Generals, drawing the eyes of the whole City that beheld the multitude and pompous glory of his Rewards. For he had eight Golden Crowns, fourteen City-Crowns, and three Mural-Crowns, together with one Obſidional Garland, Chains one hundred eighty three, Bracelets one hundred and ſixty, Spears eighteen, Trappings twenty five. Ornaments ſufficient for a Legion, rather than for the uſe of a private Souldier.

FORREIGN.

1. That Blood was alſo confounded out of many Bodies into one, with great admiration, in the Town of the *Calibes*; where *Fulvius Flaccus* having condemn'd the chief of the City to looſe their Heads for their Perfidiouſneſs in *Campania*, and that he was by Letters from the Senate order'd to ſee execution done; *Jubellius Taurea* a *Campanian* freely offer'd himſelf to him, crying out as loud as he could, *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *O* Fulvius, *thou art ſo deſirous of ſhedding blood, why doſt thou delay to ſheath thy Sword in my Bowels, that thou maiſt have an occaſion to boaſt, that thou didſt once kill a ſtouter man than thy ſelf?* Who replying that he would gladly do it, but that he was otherwiſe order'd by

by the Senate; *Behold me*, then replyed the other, *upon whom the Conſcript Fathers have laid no commands, outwardly quiet enough, but meditating a great work in my mind:* and immediately killing his Wife and Children, fell upon his own Sword. What kind of perſon muſt we believe him to be, who was ſo willing with the ſlaughter of himſelf and his Relations to teſtifie, that he would rather delude the Cruelty of *Fulvius*, than make uſe of the Mercy of the Senate?

2. Again, how great was the Courage of *Gobrias*, who, when he freed the *Perſians* from the ſordid and cruel Tyranny of the *Magi*, having thrown one of the *Magi* down in a dark place, and lying with all his weight upon him, and perceiving that one of his Companions in his noble enterprize was afraid to kill the Tyrant, for fear of hurting him, cryed out, *Uſe not thy Sword ere a whit the leſs timorouſly for fear of me; rather thruſt it through us both, that this fellow may die the more ſpeedily.*

3. In this place we meet with *Leonidas*, a Noble *Spartan*, than whoſe Deſigne, Enterprize and Iſſue there was nothing more courageous. For being placed in the Streights of *Thermopylæ* againſt the whole force of *Aſia*, only with Three Hundred of his Citizens, through the obſtinacy of his Virtue, he drave *Xerxes* to deſpair, who a little before was a burthen both to Sea and Land; not only terrible to Men, but one that threatned to chain the Sea, and fetter the Heavens: but being through the perfidiouſneſs of the Inhabitants of that Country deprived of the advantage of the place, he reſolv'd to fall, rather than leave the ſtation where his Country had ſet him. And therefore he exhorted his people with ſo much chearfulneſs to that Battle where they were ſure to periſh, crying out, *Fellow-ſouldiers, let us Dine like ſuch as are to Sup in the other world.* Death was all their hopes, yet fear-

leſs they obeyed their Leader, as ſure of Victory.

4. The glorious Battle and Death of *Othryades*, is only ſeen in the praiſe, rather than in the larger ſpace of *Thyarete*. Who ſpoiling the enemy of Victory, by Letters written with his own Blood; after his own fate, would not carry into the boſome of his Country the bloody ſuperſcription of his Trophies.

5. But a moſt ſad effort follows the moſt excellent effects of the *Spartan* Vertue. *Epaminondas*, the chief Felicity of *Thebes*, and the firſt ſcourge of the *Lacedemonian* Valour, when he had broken the antient glory, and till that time invincible publick glory of that City, in the two Battles of *Mantinea* and *Leuctra*, being run through with a Spear, and fainting for want of Blood and Breath, ask'd thoſe who endeavour'd to recover him, Firſt, whether his Shield were ſafe; and next, whether the Enemy was quite vanquiſh'd: Which when he found according to his deſire, *Fellow-Souldiers*, ſaid he, *this is not the end, but a fortunate and auſpicious beginning of my life: For your* Epaminondas *is now born, becauſe he thus dyes. I ſee* Thebes *by my Conduct and Command the head of all* Greece. *The ſtrong and courageous City of* Sparta *ſubmits, vanquiſh'd by our Arms, and* Greece *freed from her bitter Tyranny. Not having Children, yet I die not without Children; I leave* Leuctra *and* Mantinea *behind me.* Then commanding the Spear to be pull'd out of his Body, he expir'd. Whom if the Immortal Gods had ſuffer'd to enjoy his Victories, a more glorious Redeemer had never enter'd the Walls of any City.

6. Nor was the Conſtancy of *Theramenes* the *Athenian* inconſiderable, being compell'd to die in Priſon, where without any ſigne of fear he drank the Potion prepar'd for him by the thirty Tyrants; and ſmiling upon the publick Officer that brought it; *Tell* Critias, quoth he, *I drink to him, and therefore take care that thou*

thou carry him the Cup, assoon as thou canst. Now this *Critias* was the cruellest of all the Tyrants. Certainly it is as easie to free a mans self from punishment, as to endure punishment: and thus *Theramenes*, as if he had died in his Bed, departed this life; by his enemies thought to have been punish'd, in his own opinion yielding only to common fate.

7. But *Theramenes* receiv'd his Constancy from Learning and Education: But the natural Ferity of the people taught *Theogenes* the *Numantine* to take the same course. For the affairs of *Numantium* being in a low and lost condition, himself excelling all others in Wealth, Honour and Nobility, getting a great quantity of combustible matter together, he set his own Street, which was the fairest in the whole City, on fire, and laying a naked Sword in the midst of it, he commanded two persons to fight together, that the Head of him that was kill'd might be cast upon the flames: and having by this strong engagement consum'd every body else, at length he threw himself into the fire.

8. And that I may rehearse the destruction of a City at equal enmity with ours; when *Carthage* was taken, the wife of *Asdrubal* upbraiding him with Impiety for begging onely his own life at *Scipio*'s hands, taking her Children which she had by him in her right and left hand, willing to die, she flung her self into the flaming Ruines of her Country.

9. To this Example of Female-fortitude, I will adde one stout Casualty of two Virgins. When through the most pestiferous Sedition of the *Syracusans*, the whole Family of King *Gelo*, afflicted with endless Calamities, was reduced to one Virgin-daughter, named *Harmonia*, and that the Enemy made several offers of violence upon her; Her Nurse took a Childe somewhat like her, and having dress'd it in royal Ap-

parel, expoſed her to the fury of her Enemies; who when ſhe was about to be ſlain, would not declare her condition. *Harmonica* admiring her condition, and not willing to outlive ſo much Faith, called back the Murtherers, and confeſſing who ſhe was, was the cauſe of her own death. Thus a covert Lye was the bane of the one, the open truth the deſtruction of the other.

CHAP. III.

Of Patience.

ROMAN *Examples, whereof are two.*

1. C. Mutius Cordus, *firſt called* Scævola.
2. Pompey *Embaſſadour to King Gentius.*

FORRAIGN.

1. *A* Macedonian *Youth.*
2. Zeno Eleatean,
3. *The other* Zeno.
4. Anaxarchus Abderite.
5. Theodorus *of Syracuſe.*
6. *The* Indians.
7. *The* African *ſlave contemning Death and Torments.*

FOrtitude hath been apparent to the eyes of men by the famous Deeds both of men and women: and by her incitement, Patience appears grounded upon as firm foundations, not being endued with a leſs generous Soul, but ſo like the one to the other, that ſhe ſeems to have received her birth either with her or from her.

1. For what has a greater reſemblance to what I have formerly related, than the Act of *Mutius*, who grieving to ſee our City vexed with a long and grievous War,

War, by *Porſenna* King of the *Heturians*, privately got armed into the Camp, endeavour'd to have ſlain him as he was ſacrificing before the Altar: But failing in the Enterprize, and being laid hold on, he neither concealed the cauſe of his coming; and beſides that, with a wonderful patience ſhew'd how little he fear'd any torment they could put him to: For as it were out of an enmity to his right hand, becauſe he could not uſe it in the ſlaughter of the King, he held it in the fire, enduring it to be burnt off. Certainly the Immortal Gods never beheld with more heedful eyes any Offering made them. And it forced *Porſenna* himſelf, forgetful of the danger, to turn his Revenge into Admiration. *Return*, quoth he, *to thy own Friends, and tell them how I have given thee thy life for ſeeking mine.* Whoſe Clemency *Mutius* no way flattering, more ſorry to ſee him live, than glad of his own life, return'd to the City with a ſirname of eternal glory, being called *Scævola*.

2. Moſt approved alſo is the Vertue of *Pompey*; who being ſent upon an Embaſſie, and taken by the way by King *Gentius*, and commanded to reveral the Counſels of the Senate, thruſt his finger into a burning Candle: which patience of his made the King not onely deſpair of getting any thing out of him by force, but alſo very deſirous of the friendſhip of the *Romans*. But leſt, while I ſtrive to enumerate more Domeſtick Examples of this ſort, I ſhould be forced to embroyl my ſelf in the relations and ſtories of our civil Diſcords, which as they contain the Relation of moſt famous men, ſo they renew the publick Grief, I ſhall paſs to thoſe of Forraign Nations.

EXTERNAL.

According to the ancient Cuſtome of *Greece*, the moſt

most eminent Noblemens Sons did always attend upon King *Alexander* when he sacrificed: Among which there was one who while he stood before the King, holding the Censer, a live cole fell upon his arm, which though it burnt his flesh so vehemently that the stink thereof offended the nostrils of all the standers by, yet the Lad would by no means discover his pain, fearing to disturb the Sacrifice by letting fall the Censer, or to offend the Kings ears by complaining. The King pleased with the patience of the Youth, and willing to make a more certain tryal thereof, prolong'd the Sacrifice beyond his wonted time; yet nothing would alter the constancy of the Lad. Had *Darius* cast his eyes upon this wonder, he would have known that Souldiers of such a race were not to be overcome, while in their tender age he beheld them endu'd with such a strength.

There is that vehement and constant Discipline of the Minde, I mean Philosophy excelling in Learning, ruler of the venerable Mysteries of Doctrne, which being receiv'd into the breast of men, they presently lay aside all dishoneſt and unworthy affections, and being armed with the true weapons of Vertue, advance themselves above all fear and thought of pain.

2. I will begin from *Zeno* of *Eleas*; who being a most wise observer of the nature of things, and most sedulous to kindle Courage and Vigour in the minds of Youth, purchased Credit to his Precepts by Examples of his own Vertue: For departing his Country, where he might have lived secure in Liberty, he went to *Agrigentum*, then groaning under a most miserable servitude, confiding in his Conversation and Manners, that he was in good hopes to work the Tyrant, though a *Phalaris*, out of the ferity of his rude nature. After some time observing that the Custome of Dominion was more prevalent than wholsome Counsels, he stirr'd up

up and inflam'd the minds of the most noble Youth with a desire of recovering their Liberty. Which being reveal'd to the Tyrant, he call'd the People into the Market-place, and in their presence began to punish *Zeno* with most exquisite torments; oftentimes asking him who were his Confederates in the Conspiracy. *Zeno* would name none of them, but only those that were the Tyrants chiefest Friends and Relations; and then upbraiding the *Agrigentines* with their sloath and fear, rais'd such a suddain commotion in their minds, that they fell upon the Tyrant and stoned him to death. It was not the suppliant Voice, the miserable Cries of an Old-man upon the Rack, but his strong and serious exhortation, that changed the Courage and Fortune of the whole City.

3. A Philosopher of the same Name, being put upon the Rack by *Nearchus* the Tyrant, whose Death he had conspir'd, did not only appear a Conquerour of his pain and punishment in concealing his Confederates, but shewed himself more covetous of revenge; and therefore telling the Tyrant that he had something to declare, which it was fit that no body else should hear, he was thereupon loosen'd from the Rack, and pretending to whisper in the Tyrants ear, when he saw his time, caught his Ear in his Teeth, nor would let go, till with the loss of his Life, the other had lost a member of his body.

4. *Anaxarchus* imitating the same Patience, and being put upon the Rack by *Nicocreon*, Tyrant of *Cyprus*, when he could by no means be restrain'd from casting the most bitter taunts and reproaches imaginable against the Tyrant, who at length threatned to cut out his Tongue; *This part of my body neither*, quoth he, *effeminate Youngman, shall be in thy power*; and presently biting it off with his teeth, when he had

sufficiently

ſufficiently chew'd it, he ſpit it into the Tyrants mouth gaping for anger. That tongue wonderfully aſtoniſh'd the ears of many, eſpecially of *Alexander* the King, having before ſo wiſely and eloquently deſcribed the condition of the Earth, the ſcituation of the Sea, the Motion of the Stars, and laſtly the Nature of the whole World. Yet he fell more gloriouſly than he liv'd, ſeeing ſuch a couragious concluſion approv'd the illuſtriouſneſs of his profeſſion, and beautified with ſuch a noble end. And *Anaxarchus* did not only not forſake living, but render'd his Death more famous.

5. In vain did *Hieronymus* the Tyrant weary the hands of the Executioners with the Tortures of *Theodorus* a moſt eminent perſon. For the Tyrant was forced to break his Whips, looſen the Strings, take him from the Rack, and quench the burning Plates, ere he could make him confeſs his Confederates. At length, by accuſing one of the Tyrants Guard, upon whoſe ſhoulders as upon hinges the whole weight of the Government hung, he ſav'd one of his moſt faithful Friends. And by the benefit of his Patience not only conceal'd the Secrets of the Conſpiracy, but occaſioned his own revenge. For *Hieronymus*, while he covetouſly tears his Enemies fleſh, raſhly loſt his Friend.

6. Among the *Indians* the Exerciſe of Patience is reported to be ſo obſtinately obſerv'd, that there be ſome that go naked all their days, hardening their Bodies in the extreme cold of *Caucaſus*, ſometimes walking thorow fire without any complaint. And by this contempt of pain, they gain no ſmall honour, receiving from thence the title of Wiſdom.

7. Such things as theſe ariſe from minds high and fraught with knowledg: but this is no leſs to be admired in a Slave.

A Barbarian Slave grieving for the loſs of his Maſter, preſently ſetting upon *Aſdrubal*, ſlew him. And when being apprehended he was tormented all manner of ways, yet he conſtantly retain'd in his mouth the joy which he had in his revenge. Vertue therefore not excited by the trouble of attaining, ſuffers her ſelf to be always poſſeſs'd by vigorous Ingenuities; nor affords a taſte of her ſelf large or thrifty according to the difference of the perſons, but being expos'd equally to all, eſteems more what it brings of deſire than worth: And therefore leaves thee to examine the weight thereof, by the conſideration of the benefits receiv'd by her, that thou mayſt carry away with thee as much, as thy Courage is able to bear.

CHAP. IV.

Of thoſe who being meanly born, have advanced to great Honours.

Among the ROMANS.

1. Tullus Hoſtilius.
2. Tarquinius Priſcus.
3. Servius Tullius.
4. Terentius Varro.
5. M. Perperna.
6. M. Porcius Cato.

FORREIGN.

1. Socrates *the* Athenian.
2. Euripides *and* Demoſthenes.

HEnce it many times falls out, that Men born of mean Parentage arrive to the higheſt pitches of Honour and Preferment; and on the contrary, that Men of moſt Noble Extraction, falling into ſome diſgrace, change that light which they received from their Anceſtors into darkneſs. Which will appear more apparent

apparent by their Examples. I shall begin with those whose change from low to high degree, affords a kind of pleasing Majesty.

1. A poor Country Cottage entertain'd the Infancy of *Tullus Hostilius*. His Youth was employ'd in keeping sheep, his riper years govern'd the *Roman* Empire, and doubly augmented it; his old age embellished with most excellent Ornaments, shin'd in the highest Pinacle of Majesty.

2. But *Tullus* though he were great, and admirable in his growing great, yet was he but a private Example. But *Tarquinius Priscus* was by Fortune brought to our City to possess the *Roman* Scepter: A Forrainer, because born at *Corinth*; to be scorn'd, as being begot by *Demaratus* a Merchant; and one to be ashamed of, because his Father was an Exile: But by the prosperous event of his Condition he became industrious, instead of ignominious, glorious instead of being envi'd. For he extended the bounds of the Empire, and reform'd the Worship of the Gods with new Sacrifices: He increased the number of Senators, and amplified the Order of Knighthood. And what was the perfection of his praises, his most eminent Vertues were such, that the City had no cause to repent that she had rather borrowed a King from her Neighbours, than chosen one of her own.

3. But in *Servius Tullius* Fortune shewed her greatest power, by giving us a King born a stranger to this City; who happened to sway the Scepter many years, to appoint a *Lustrum* four times, and to triumph thrice. Briefly, whence he came, and how far he proceeded, the Inscription of his Statue sufficiently witnesses, being intrigu'd with a servile Sirname, and a Royal Title.

4. By a strange rise *Varro* ascended to the Consulship, from his Fathers Butchers stall: Yet Fortune thought it not enough to bestow the twelve Fasces upon

on one brought up by the gains of the moſt ſordid Ware, unleſs ſhe had given him *Emilius Paulus* to be his Colleague: And ſhe ſo inſinuated her ſelf into his favour, that when by his raſhneſs he had ruined the Power of *Rome*, at the Battel of *Cannæ*, yet ſhe ſuffered *Emilius* to be ſlain, but brought *Varro* ſafe to *Rome*: Nay, ſhe brought forth the Senate to meet him without the Gates, and giving him thanks that he would be pleaſed to return; and ſo advanced him, that the Dictatorſhip was allotted to the Author of their greateſt Calamity.

5. Nor was *Marcus Perperna* a ſmall diſgrace to the Conſulſhip, as being made Conſul before he was a Citizen; but in War more profitable to the Commonwealth than *Varro* the General: For he took King *Ariſtonicus*, and revenged the ſlaughter of *Craſſus* and his Army. Yet was his death, whoſe life had triumph'd, condemned by the *Papian* Law: for they compelled his Father, not being able to claim the priviledges of a *Roman* Citizen, and proſecuted therefore by *Sabellius*, to return to his Original Station. Thus was the name of *Perperna* clouded, his counterfeit Conſulſhip a kind of Government like a Miſt, a fading Triumph, and his Off-ſpring a Sojourner in a ſtrange City.

6. But the beginnings of *Porcius Cato* were ſearched for out by publick Vote: Who render'd his name moſt famous at *Rome*, which was ſcarcely known in *Tuſculum*. The laſting Monuments of the Latin Tongue were by him adorn'd, Military Diſcipline reform'd, the Majeſty of the Senate increaſed, his Family eſtabliſh'd, to which the laſt *Cato* was no ſmall honour.

FORRAIGN.

1. But to joyn Forraign Examples to the *Romans*; *Socra-*

Socrates not onely by common consent of all persons, but by the Oracle of *Apollo*, judg'd to be the wisest among men, was born of *Phanarete* a Midwife, and *Sophroniscus* a Stone-cutter; yet he came to be one of the most resplendent Lights of Glory, and not undeservedly. For when the Wits of most learned men were busied in blinde Disputations, and endeavoured to set down and prove the measures of the Sun, Moon, and the rest of the Stars, rather by multiplicity of words, than certain Arguments, (for they undertook to tell the compass of the whole World) he diverted men from these unlearned and unnecessary questions, and taught them to dive into the nature of Man, and the secret Affections that lay hidden in his breast: So that if Vertue be esteem'd for its self, much more such a Master as teacheth the best Rules of life.

2. What Mother *Euripides* had, or what Father *Demosthenes* had, was unknown to the Age they lived in: Yet the most certain opinion of the Learned is, That the Mother of the one sold Pot-herbs, and the Father of the other dealt in Knives. However, what can be more famous than the Tragedies of the one, and the Orations of the other?

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of those who have degenerated, being born of Noble Ancestors.

1. *The Son of* Scipio Africanus.
2. Q. Fabius, *the Son of him, firnamed* Allobrogicus.
3. *The Son of* Clodius *and* Fulvia.
4. Marcus Hortensius Corbio.

HEre follows the second part of a double promise, to be made good by relating the blemishes in the Coats of Illustrious men: Because we are now to relate the stories of those that have degenerated from the glory of their Ancestors.

1. For what could be more like a Monster than the Son of the Elder *Scipio Africanus?* who receiving his beginning from so Illustrious a Family, could endure to suffer himself to be taken by a small party of King *Antiochus*; when it had been better for him to have died a voluntary death, than between two the most famous Sirnames, the one obtained by the destruction of *Africk*, and the other got by the Conquest of *Asia*, to suffer his hands to be bound by the Enemy, and to be beholding to his mercy for a pitiful life, over whom *Scipio* was to obtain, in a small time, a Triumph, most glorious in the sight of Gods and men. Coming to claim the Pretorship, he appeared in the field with such a spotted and bedaub'd white Gown, that had it not been for the courtesie of *Cicereus*, who was his Father's Secretary, he would not have obtain'd the honour.

Though it had been no great matter whether he had a Repulse or a Pretorship so obtain'd; for when the standers by saw what a foul Garment he had on, they were the occasion that he neither durst place his Chair, nor hear Causes. Moreover, they took a Ring off his finger, upon which the head of *Alexander* was engrav'd: Good Gods! from what Thunder did ye suffer so much Darkness to proceed?

2. Again, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Son of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, sirnamed *Allobrogicus*, what a luxurious and dissolute life did he lead? whose other Vices to obliterate, yet might his Manners be seen by one act of disgrace, that *Q. Pompey*, the City-Pretor, would not let him meddle with his Father's goods. Neither was there any person in so great a City, that would speak against the Decree: For men grived to see that that money which was to maintain the splendour of the *Fabian* Family, should be spent in Riot and Excess. Thus he whom his Father's indulgence left his Heir, the publick severity dis-inherited.

3. *Clodius* the fair was in great favour with the people; yet his Wife *Fulvia* wearing a Dagger, shew'd that he suffered his warlike Spirit to be subject to the commands of a Woman. Their Son called also by the name of *Clodius* the Fair, beside that he had led a slothful and effeminate life in his Youth, was also infamous for his egregious dotage upon the most common Whores, and died a most shameful death: For his belly being eaten up, he surrender'd his life to the greedy appetite of his own foul intemperance.

4. *Hortensius Corbio* also the Nephew of *Quintus Hortensius*, who in the greatest plenty of ingenious and illustrious Citizens, attain'd the highest degree of Eloquence and Authority, led a life more obscure and sordid, than all the Strumpets put together. At length his Tongue was as common at the pleasure and lust of

every

every one in the Bawdy-houſes, as his Fathers Oratory was diligently employ'd for the good of his Fellow-Citizens.

CHAP. VI.

Of Illuſtrious men, that delighted more than ordinary in rich Apparel, and ſumptuous adorning themſelves.

1. Scipio *the Greater.*
2. Aſiatic Scipio.
3. Cornelius Sylla.
4. C. Duilius.
5. C. Papirius Maſo.
6. C. Marius.
7. M. Cato *of* Utica.

I Am not ignorant what a dangerous Journey I have undertaken: Therefore I will recall my ſelf, leſt while I continue to purſue the remaining Shipwracks and Miſcarriages of the ſame nature, I ſhould intrigue my ſelf in uſeleſs Relations: I will therefore retreat, and ſuffer thoſe deformed ſhadows to lie hid in the deep Abyſs of their own ſhame; thinking it more to the purpoſe to declare what Illuſtrious Perſonages have given themſelves an unuſual liberty in their Habits and Dreſſes, the Authors of new Cuſtoms.

1. *P. Scipio* being in *Sicily*, there intent upon the reinforcing and tranſporting his Army into *Africa*, as he that minded nothing more than the ruine of *Carthage*, was at the ſame time accuſtomed to the *Gymnaſium*, and wore a *Pallium*, or long Mantle, and thoſe finer ſort of ſhoes called *Crepidæ*. Yet did he handle the *Carthaginians* never a whit the more ſoftly for that: For his Divertiſement made him more eager,

seeing that strong and active Wits, the more they use Retirement, the more vehement they are in Command. Thereby perhaps he also thought to win the favour of the young Gentry, while he followed their Customes of Habit and Diet. For to those Exercises he applied himself, when he had much and long tired himself, and had constrained his other Limbs to prove their Strength by Military Labours, wearied with the one, recreated with the other.

2. We likewise behold the Statue of *Lucius Scipio* with a *Chlamys* or a short Cloak about his Shoulders, and embroidered Slippers. In which Habit, as he was wont to wear it alive, they cloathed his Effigies.

3. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* also, when he was Emperour, thought it no disgrace to walk the streets of *Naples* mantled in a Short Cloak, and Embroidered Shoes upon his Feet.

4. *C. Duilius* also, that first triumphed by Sea over the *Carthaginians*, when he had been feasting, was wont to return home with Wax-Torches and Minstrels going before him, causing his noble Success in War to be spread abroad by his Nocturnal Revelling.

5. *Papirius Maso* also, not being able to obtain a Triumph, though he had signally deserved of the Common-wealth, began a new way of Triumphing in the *Alban* Mountain, and set a president for others afterwards to follow. For when he was present at any Shew, he used a Myrtle instead of a Lawrel Crown,

6. Unusual also was the act of *Caius Marius*, who having Triumphed over *Jugurth*, the *Cimbrians*, and *Teutons*, was alwaies used to drink out of a *Cantharus*, or Kan. Because that *Bacchus* returning in triumph out of *Asia*, was said to use that sort of Cup; that while he

he drank, he might ſeem to compare his Victories with thoſe of the God.

7. *Marcus Cato* alſo, being Prætor, pleaded the Condemnations of *Scaurus*, and the reſt of the Criminals, without his Tunic, only in his Purple Gown.

CHAP. VII.

Of Self-Confidence.

Among the Romans, *in*	FORREIGN.
1. Scipio *the Greater.*	1. Euripides *the Poet.*
2. Scipio Æmilianus *Coſs.*	2. Antigenidas *the Muſician.*
3 Scipio Naſica *Coſs.*	3. Zeuxes *the Painter.*
4. Livius Salinator *Coſs.*	4. Phidias *the Graver.*
5. P. Furius Philus *Coſs.*	5. Epaminondas *of* Thebes
6. Licinius Craſſus *Procoſ.*	6. Hannibal *the* Carthaginian.
7. Cato *the Greater.*	7. Cotys *King of* Thrace.
8. Æmilius Scaurus.	8. Androclidas, Leonidas, Agis, *Spartans.*
9. M. Antonius *the Orator.*	
10. *The* Roman *Senate.*	
11. Accius *the Poet.*	

THeſe, and other Examples like theſe, are marks of a Vertue aſſuming ſomething to it ſelf, by a new cuſtome of Liberty. But by thoſe that follow, it ſhall appear how confident Vertue is of her ſelf.

1. *P.* and *Cn. Scipio* being with the greateſt part of the Army very much diſtreſt by the *Carthaginians*, all the people of that Province taking part with the Enemy, no other of our Captains daring to adventure thither; *Publius Scipio*, being then but in the Twenty

Fourth year of his Age, proffer'd himself. Which confidence of his afforded both safety and victory to the *Romans*. And the same confidence he had at home, he us'd in *Spain*. For when he was besieging the City of *Badia*, he caus'd all those that came to his Tribunal, in matters of Law, to put in Sureties to appear at a certain House which was within the Walls of the Town the next day; and immediately taking the City, at the same time and place that he had appointed, he caus'd his Chair to be plac'd, and there sate in Judgment. Nothing more Heroic than such a Confidence, nothing more true than such a Prediction, nothing more efficacious than such a Celerity, nothing more worthy than such an Authority. Not less courageous, nor less prosperous was his Passage into *Africa*: into which he transported his Army, contrary to the command of the Senate. In which thing, had he not trusted more to his own opinion, than the counsel of the Conscript Fathers, there would have been no end of the Second *Punic* War. Equal to this was that Confidence of his, that when after he was landed in *Africa*, he had taken several of the Scouts of *Hannibal*'s Army, he neither put them to death, nor in prison, nor enquir'd any thing into the state and condition of the Enemy; but caus'd them to be led through all the Companies of his Army: And then, after he had ask'd them whether they had taken a sufficient view of what they were commanded to take notice of, causing provision to be given to them and their horses, he freely dismiss'd um in safety. With which Confidence of mind he dampt the Courage of the Enemy, before he had vanquish'd their Arms. But to come to the private acts of his sublime confidence; When he was call'd to an accompt for Fourty Thousand Sesterces of the Money of *Antiochia*, he took the Book wherein his Expences were wrote down, and by which he might

might have clear'd himſelf from the Accuſation of his enemies, and tore it publickly; diſdaining that any doubt ſhould be made of what he had acted, as being the chief Commander: Pleading for himſelf in this wiſe; *I am not to give an accompt to your Treaſury, moſt Noble Senators, having commanded a forreign Kingdom, which by my Government and Conduct, I have made more plentiful than twice an Hundred Thouſand Seſterces. Neither do I think ye are come to that height of malice, as to doubt of my Innocency. For when I had ſubdued* Africa *wholly under your Juriſdiction, I brought nothing thence that I could call mine own, but a Sirname. They have not therefore rendered me covetous of the* Punic, *nor my Brother of the* Aſiatic *Treaſure, ſeeing we are both more wealthy in Envy, than in Money.* Which ſtout defence of *Scipio* the whole Senate approved.

Like this was another act of his. When finding that the urgent occaſions of the Common-wealth required Money to be taken out of the Publique Treaſury, and that the Queſtors were ſhie of opening it, becauſe it ſeem'd to be ſomething againſt the Law; being a private perſon he demanded the Keys, and compell'd the Law to yield to Neceſſity. Which confidence grew from the aſſurance which he had, that all the Laws were by that means ſecur'd. I will not be tired with the relation of his Actions of this nature, ſeeing that he himſelf was never wearied in the exerciſe thereof. *P. Nævius* Tribune of the People, or as ſome relate, the two *Petellii*, had prefix'd him a day to appear before the People; who appearing in great multitudes in the *Forum*, he aſcended the Pulpit for Orations, and putting a Triumphal Crown upon his Head; *This day*, ſaid he, *moſt Noble* Romans, *did I compel* Carthage, *hoping great things, to ſubmit to your Laws: And therefore I hold it juſt that you go with me to the Capitol, to give thanks to the Gods.* Which

moſt ſplendid Speech of his had as noble a ſucceſs. For immediately the whole Senate, the whole Order of Knights, and all the People follow'd him to the Temple of *Jupiter*. The Tribune remained alone to plead to the people without the people, being deſerted in the *Forum* with great contempt of his Calumny. At length, to avoid the ſhame, he went alſo to the Capitol himſelf; and of an Accuſer, became a great admirer of *Scipio*.

2. *Scipio Æmilianus*, the famous Heir of his Fathers Courage and Magnanimity, being at the Siege of a ſtrong City, and perſwaded by ſome that he ſhould place round about the Walls thereof ſharp Iron Spikes, and ſtop all the open Paſſages with Planks covered with Lead, and ſtuck with Spikes, to hinder the Sallies of the Enemy; made anſwer, that it was not for him to fear thoſe that he ſought to take.

3. To what ever ſide of Memorable Examples I turn me, I am forced, *nolens volens*, to remain in the Family of the *Scipio*'s. For how can we in this place paſs over *Scipio Naſica*, illuſtrious for his magnanimous Mind and Saying? There being a likelihood of great Scarcity, *Curatius* Tribune of the People compelled the Conſuls, in a publick Aſſembly, to propoſe in Court the buying of Corn, and ſending Embaſſadours to that end and purpoſe. For the hindering of which deſign, being of little profit, *Naſica* began to make oppoſition; upon which a great clamour ariſing among the People: Romans, ſaid he, *be quiet, for I underſtand much better than you do, what the neceſſities of the Commonwealth require.* Which words of his they no ſooner heard, but with a ſilence full of veneration, they made it appear, how much a greater reſpect they had to his Authority, than to their own want of Nouriſhment.

4. The ſtout mind alſo of *Livius Salinator* is to be

be delivered to Eternal Memory; who, when he had defeated *Aſdrubal*, and the Army of the *Carthaginians* in *Umbria*, and that it was told him that the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* were without order, and without their Officers, ſcattered from their Colours, eaſie to be overthrown with a ſmall party; he made anſwer, That thoſe were to be ſpared, leſt the Enemy ſhould want Meſſengers of their great defeat at home.

5. This was a warlike preſence of minde, that which we relate, though in a perſon of the Gown, not leſs praiſeworthy; which *Furius Philus* ſhewed in the Senate: For he compelled *Quintus Metellus*, and *Quintus Pompeius*, men of Conſular degree, being his profeſſed Enemies, and upbraiding him becauſe he did not go into *Spain*, which province he had choſen, that he ſhould ſend Lieutenants thither, upon his departure from *Rome* to march along with him; a confidence not onely couragious, but almoſt raſh, that durſt admit ſo neer him two of his moſt Capital Adverſaries; and truſt the management of Affairs in the breaſt of Enemies, which was hardly to be intruſted with his friends.

6. The act of this perſon, if it be not diſpleaſing, certainly the purpoſe of *L. Craſſus*, who was the moſt Eloquent among his Anceſtors, cannot admit of reproof: who having obtained the Province of *Gallia* in his Conſulſhip, in which Province *Carbo* had condemn'd his Father, when he came to have an inſpection into *Carbo*s actions, he not onely not remov'd him from his Dignity, but aſſign'd him a place in the Tribunal, and ordered nothing without his preſence in Council: So that ſharp and vehement *Carbo* got nothing by his *Gallick* Expedition, but onely that he thereby underſtood that a guilty Father had been baniſhed by a juſt and honeſt man.

7. The Elder *Cato* being often called to plead for him-

himself, yet never convicted of any Crime, at length repos'd so much confidence in his Innocency, that being publickly questioned, he made *Gracchus* his Judge, to whom he bare a singular hatred; by which excellency of his Courage he abated the envy of his Prosecutors.

8. The same was the fortune of *M. Scaurus*, the same length of years, the same courage of minde: Who being accus'd before the Pulpits for Orations, that he had taken money of *Mithridates* to betray the Commonwealth, pleaded his Cause in this manner: *It is unjust*, O Romans, said he, *that I who have lived among one sort of people, should come to give an account of my actions among another; yet I will dare to ask ye all, the greatest part of whom could not possibly be present at the Deeds which I have done, and the Honours which I have attain'd.* Varius Suetonensis *says that* M. Scaurus *brib'd by the King, has betray'd the Commonwealth: Whom of the two do you believe?* The people mov'd with admiration of his Saying, with their loud Cries forced *Varius* to desist from his violent and mad prosecution.

9. Contrariwise did *M. Antonius*, that Eloquent man: For he, not by refusing, but by embracing his own defence, testified how innocent he was. Going Questor into *Asia*, he was on his Journey as far as *Brundusium*; where being informed by Letters that he was accus'd of Incest before the Pretor *Cassius*, whose Tribunal, because of his severity, was called the *Rock of the Guilty*, though he might have shun'd it by the benefit of the *Memmian* Law, which forbids the Names of them to be taken who are absent upon the Affairs of the Publick, yet he return'd to the City; by which advice of a good Confidence, he not onely obtained a quick absolution, but a honester departure.

10. These that follow, are also splended Examples

of

of noble Confidence. For in that War which was undertaken againſt *Pyrrhus*, when the *Carthaginians* had ſent a Navy of an Hundred and Thirty Ships to *Oſtia*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, the Senate were pleaſed to ſend Meſſengers with Inſtructions to tell their Captain, that they did not uſe to enter into Wars which they were not able to carry on without the help of Strangers; and that therefore he might return with his Navy to *Carthage*. The ſame Senate ſome few years after, when the *Roman* power was almoſt broken by the Overthrow at *Cannæ*, ſent a Recruit of Forces to the Army in *Spain*; whereby they ſhew'd, that although *Hannibal* was with his Army at the *Capène* Gate, how little they valued his approach. Thus to carry themſelves in Adverſity, what was it elſe, but to compel Fortune, overcome with ſhame, to return to their ſide?

11. It is a great leap to deſcend from the Senate to the Poet *Accius*. But that we may paſs from him more decently to forreign Examples, let us produce him. He, when *Julius Cæſar* a great and powerful man came into the Colledge of Poets, would not ſo much as riſe: not that he was forgetful of his Grandeur, but that he believed himſelf ſuperiour in compariſon of their Studies. And therefore not guilty of the Crime of Inſolence, ſeeing the conteſt was about Volumes, not Statues.

FORRAIGN.

1. Nor was *Euripides* to be accompted inſolent at *Athens*, who, when the People requir'd him to ſtrike out ſuch a Sentence out of a certain Tragedy, appearing upon the Stage, told um, *That he compoſed Fables to teach them, not by them to be taught*. That Confidence is certainly to be praiſed, which weighing the eſteem

eſteem of a mans ſelf, arrogates ſo much to its ſelf, as to keep contempt and inſolency at a diſtance.

And therefore his anſwer to *Alceſtides* the Tragick Poet; who complaining to him, that he could not make above three Verſes the laſt three days, and that with a great deal of labour too, when the other boaſted that he could write an Hundred; *The reaſon is*, ſaid *Euripides*, *becauſe thine are only to laſt three days, and mine are to laſt to eternity.* For the fluent writing of the one, periſh'd within the firſt bounds of Memory; but the elaborate and conſtant Stile of the other will be carried through all Ages upon the wings of time.

2. I will adde an Example upon the ſame Stage. *Antigenidas* the Muſician, cried out to a Scholar of his rare in his Art, but not approved by the People, *Sing to me and the Muſes.* For perfect Art, though it want the flattery of Fortune, doth not therefore want a juſt confidence in its ſelf.

3. But *Zeuxis* having painted *Helen*, thought it not fit to expect what men would ſay of his Work, but preſently added theſe Verſes out of *Homer*, *Iliad.* 3.

Οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας τε, καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
Τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
Αἰνῶς ἀθανάτῃσι θεῇς εἰς ὦπα ἔοικεν.

I cannot blame the man that for her ſtrives,
Like an Immortal God ſhe is ——

So that the Painter did not arrogate ſo much to his Art, to think he had drawn ſo much Beauty, as *Leda* might aſſume through her Celeſtial Birth, or *Homer* expreſs by his divine Wit.

4. *Phidias* alſo alluded to the Verſes of *Homer* in a notable

notable Saying. For having finish'd the Statue of *Jupiter Olympic*, than which never humane hand did make a more famous Piece, being ask'd by his Friend, whither he directed his mind when he form'd the Face of *Jupiter* of Ivory, as if he had seem'd to fetch it from Heaven; reply'd, that he made use of these following Verses; *Iliad.* 1.

Η̃, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων.
Ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
Κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.

——— *With his black brows he to her nodded,*
Wherewith displayed were his Locks Divine,
Olymyus *shook at stirring of his Godhead.*

5. But now the most renowned Captains suffer me no longer to insist upon mean Examples. For *Epaminondas*, when his Citizens in anger commanded him in contempt to take care of paving the Streets in the Town (which was one of the lowest Offices among them) without any hesitation took it upon him, promising in a short time to make the City most beautiful. By his wonderful Industry making the most vile Office to be coveted for a great honour.

6. But *Hannibal* remaining in Exile with King *Prusias*, and being the occasion of his giving Battle, though the other told him that the Entrails portended no good Success, made this reply; *Hadst thou rather*, said he, *believe a little Calves flesh, than an old General?* A brief and concise Answer, considering the number of the Words; considering the sence, a copious reply, and of great authority. For he that had wrung out of the hands of the *Romans* both *Spains*, and having reduc'd the force of *Gallia* and *Liguria* under his subjection, had open'd a new Passage through the *Alps*, laying at the Kings feet the dire memory of the *Thrasymene* Lake,

Lake, the famous monument of the *Punic* Victory at *Cannæ*, *Capua* taken, and all *Italy* rent and torn, could not endure that his glory, witnessed by long experiment, should be put in competition with the Liver of one Sacrifice. And certainly, as to what concern'd the exploring of Military Sacrifices, and making conjectures of Warlike Conducts, the breast of *Hannibal* was far above all the little fires, all the Altars of *Bithynia*, in the judgment of *Mars* himself.

7. That saying also of King *Cotys*, was the mark of a most generous Spirit, who so soon as he understood that the *Athenians* had given him a City, made answer, that he would give them the Law of his Nation. Thereby equalling *Thrace* to *Athens*, lest by accounting himself unable to requite such a benefit, he should have been esteem'd to have thought too meanly of his Original.

8. Nobly was it said also of both the *Spartans*, one of whom being reproved that he went to battle being lame, reply'd, *That it was his intention to fight, and not to run.* The other being told that the Sun us'd to be obscur'd with the Darts of the *Persians*; *A very good story*, quoth he, *for we shall fight the better in the shade.* Another Person, of the same City and Courage, made answer to his Host, shewing him the high and broad Walls of his City; *If ye made um for your Women*, said he, *ye did well; if for your Men, 'twas ignominiously done.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Conſtancy.

ROMANS.

1. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
2. Q. Fabius Maximus.
3. Q. Calpurnius Piſo.
4. Metellus Numidia.
5. Scævola *the Elder.*
6. Sempronia *Siſter of the* Gracchi.
7. Pontius *the Centurion.*
8. Mevius *the Centurian.*

FORRAIGN.

1. Blaſſius *the* Salapian.
2. Phocion *the* Athenian.
3. Socrates *the* Athenian.
4. Ephialtes *the* Athenian.
5. Dion *of* Syracuſe.
6. Alexander *the Great.*

THere remains the labour of Conſtancy, as it were due to him that has demonſtrated an open and couragious breaſt endued with good Confidence: For Nature has provided that whoever believes himſelf to have comprehended any thing orderly and rightly in his minde, ſhould ſtifly defend it, and put it into act againſt oppoſition; or if not done, ſhould bring it to effect without delay maugre all reſiſtance.

1. But while I ſeek for an Example of what I propound, looking about me at a diſtance, before all the reſt, the Conſtancy of *Fulvius Flaccus* offers it ſelf. He at that time held *Capua*, which through the fallacious promiſes of *Hannibal*, had reſolv'd by their vile Revolt to put the Kingdom of *Italy* into the Conquerours hands. Having therefore made a true value of the Enemies Crime, he purpoſed with himſelf wholly to extirpate the Senate of *Capua*, who were the Authors of that wicked Decree. To this intent he ſent them all to *Theana*, and *Calena*, laden with Chains, into

into two ſeveral Priſons, reſolving to execute his purpoſe, when he had done ſome other things which required a more neceſſary ſpeed. In the mean time a Rumour being ſpread of more favourable Proceedings being intended toward them, leſt they ſhould eſcape their deſerved puniſhment, he took horſe in the night-time, poſts to *Theana*, where he put to death all that were in cuſtody there; thence haſting to *Calena*, he finiſh'd the work of his ſevere Reſolution: For though while yet the *Campanians* were bound to the ſtake, he had received Letters in favour of them, he notwithſtanding kept the Letters as he received them in his left hand, commanding the Lictor to do his duty; nor would he open them, till he knew it was too late to obey them. By which Conſtancy of his he ſurmounted the glory of a Victory: For if we make his Eſtimate by dividing the praiſe between himſelf, we ſhall finde him greater in *Capua* puniſh'd, than in *Capua* taken.

2. This was a Conſtancy in Severity; that which follows, a moſt admirable Conſtancy in piety, which *Fabius Maximus* render'd indefatigable for the good of his Country. He told out the Money to *Hannibal* for the Captives; being publickly defrauded of it, he ſaid nothing. The Senate had made *Minutius* Maſter of the Horſe, equal to him in Authory, he held his tongue. And although provoked with many other injuries, he perſiſted in the ſame habit of minde; nor would ever give his paſſion liberty to be angry with the Commonwealth, ſo ſtedfaſt was the love he bare to his Citizens. In his managing the War, was not his Conſtancy the ſame? The *Roman* Empire broken at the overthrow at *Canne*, ſeem'd ſcarce able to provide another Army; and therefore believing it to be better to delay and weary the force of the *Carthaginians*, than to come to Handy-blows with all his power, though

though provoked with the frequent taunts of *Hannibal*, though he had many times a fair opportunity of well succeeding offer'd, yet he would never recede from his own wholesome deliberations, not so much as to the hazard of a Skirmish; and which is most difficult, he every where appear'd to be Superiour both to Anger and Hope. And therefore as *Scipio* by fighting, so he by not fighting reliev'd his Country: For the one ruin'd *Carthage* by his Celerity, the other by his delay took care that *Rome* should not be destroyed.

3. By the following Narration it will also appear, that *Caius Piso* being Consul at a time of much turbulency and combustion in the Commonwealth, did behave himself with a wonderful Constancy. The fury of the people being highly moved by the delusions of *M. Palicanus*, a seditious person, endeavour'd to commit a most foul act at the great Assembly for chooſing Consuls, intending to have given into his hands a most large Power, whose vile actions requir'd rather the utmost severity of punishment, than any the least mark of Honour. Nor was the furious flame of the Tribunes Authority wanting to incense the amazed Multitude. In this miserable and shameful condition of the City, *Piso* being plac'd before the Pulpit for Orations, though not by the hands of the Tribunes, and all flocking about him; and demanding of him whether he would declare *Palicanus* Consul, now chosen by the Suffrages of the People, answered; First, that he did not believe the Commonwealth had been overwhelm'd with so much darkness, as to act a thing so unworthy. And when the People still press'd him to declare the Election, crying out, *If it were unworthily done, let it be so*, he replied, *I will make no declaration.* With which short Answer he bare away the Consulship from *Palicanus*, before he had obtain'd

it. Thus *Piso* contemn'd many terrible hazards, disdainining to renounce the well-grounded rigour of his mind.

4. *Metellus* surnam'd *Numidian*, for a perseverance of the same nature, endured a storm much unworthy his Majesty and generous Manners. For when he perceived what *Saturninus* in his designes of mischief aim'd at, and what ruin they would bring to the Commonwealth, if not timely prevented, he rather chose Banishment, than to submit to his Laws. Could there be any person thought more constant than this man? Who rather than he would act contrary to his judgment, suffer'd the want of his own Countrey, where he had attain'd to the highest degrees of Dignity.

5. However, though I prefer no one before him, yet may I not undeservedly compare with him *Scævola* the Soothsayer. *Sylla* having now quite defeated his Opposers, and got the upper hand of his Enemies, and got possession of the City, armed as he was, compell'd the Senate to accomplish his most eager desire, that *Marius* might be by them declar'd an open Enemy. Whose Will when no one durst withstand, *Scævola* alone being requir'd, refus'd to give his opinion in the Case. And when *Sylla* began with a frowning look to threaten him; *Though*, said he, *thou shouldst shew me the hands of Souldiers with which thou hast surrounded the Senate, though thou threaten death never so often, thou shalt never make me yield, in hopes to keep warm my little and aged blood, to declare* Marius *an Enemy, by whom this City and all* Italy *has been preserv'd.*

6. What has a Woman to do with publick Orations? If the Custome of our Countrey be observed, Nothing. But where Domestick Peace and Quiet is tost'd upon the waves of Sedition, the Authority of Antient Custome gives way. And that which Violense

lence compels, more avails, than that which Modesty perſwades and directs. And therefore, O *Sempronia*, Sister of *Titus* and *Caius Gracchus*, Wife of *Scipio Æmilianus*, I will not comprehend thee in a Narrative envious of thy worth, as abſurdly inſerting thee among the moſt weighty Examples of Vertue: but becauſe that being brought to anſwer before the People, by a Tribune of the Vulgar, thou haſt not degenerated from the greatneſs of thy Anceſtors in ſo vaſt a confuſion, I will eternize thy Memory. Thou wert forced to ſtand in that place, where the greateſt Perſonages of the City were wont to be affronted. The higheſt in Authority powr'd out their Threats againſt thee with a ſevere and cruel Brow, backt with the Cries of the rude Multitude. The whole *Forum* eagerly endeavour'd that thou ſhouldſt acknowledge with a Kiſs *Equitius*, whom they unjuſtly labour to impoſe upon the *Sempronian* Stock, as the Son of *Tiberius* thy Brother: yet didſt thou thruſt him from thee, a Monſter brought out of I know not what profundity of darkneſs, approaching with an execrable boldneſs, to uſurp a relation of Conſanguinity, where he had nothing of Alliance.

7. The great Luminaries of our City will not take it amiſs, if in the number of their flaming Lights the virtue of the Centurions alſo make bold to ſhew it ſelf. For as humble Degree ought to reverence Greatneſs, ſo antient Nobility ought rather to cheriſh than deſpiſe thoſe who are but newly advanc'd, by acts of Vertue. Wherefore then ought *Pontius* to be driven out of the Company of theſe Examples, who being upon an Out-guard in *Cæſar*'s Army, and ſurprized by a Party of *Scipio*'s, when there was but one way left for him to ſave himſelf, if he would ſerve under *Pompey* his Son in-law, fearleſs made this anſwer: Scipio,

I thank thee for thy kindneſs, but I have no occaſion for my Life upon any ſuch condition.

8. *C. Mevius* a Centurion of divine *Auguſtus*, a perſon of mean Extraction, yet of a heroic Minde, and obſerving the ſame Conſtancy of Reſolution, having ſignaliz'd himſelf by many Perſonal acts of Valour in the War with *Mark Antonie*; being at length taken by an Ambuſcado of the Enemy, and brought before *Antonie* to *Alexandria*, and being demanded what puniſhmment he deſerv'd: *Command me*, ſaid he, *to be killed, for neither the benefit of Pardon, nor preſent Death ſhall compel me to ceaſe to be a Souldier of* Cæſars, *nor now to begin to take thy part.* But the more conſtantly he contemn'd his Life, the more eaſily he obtain'd it. For *Antonie* immediately ſet him at Liberty for his Vertue.

FORRAIGN.

1. Many other *Roman* Examples remain of this nature; but I muſt avoid tedioufneſs, and therefore ſuffer my Pen to ſlip to Forraign preſidents. In the firſt front whereof let *Blaſſius* appear, than whoſe Conſtancy there was nothing more ſtedfaſt. He deſigning to reſtore *Salapia*, where he was born, to the *Roman* Empire, being then garriſon'd by the *Carthaginians*; to this purpoſe, with more deſire to compaſs his Plot, than hope of obtaining his end, he boldly adventures to draw in *Daſius*, one that moſt fiercely diſagreed with him in the adminiſtration of Affairs, being wholly devoted to *Hannibal*, but one without whoſe aſſiſtance he could not bring his deſigne about. This man preſently reports to *Hannibal* all that had paſs'd between him and *Blaſſius*, adding of his own what he thought would increaſe his own commendation, and render his enemy more odious. *Hannibal* calls

calls them both before him; the one to juſtifie, the other to defend what he ſtood accuſed of. Now it falling out ſo that the matter was brought before the Tribunal, while other matters of more moment were in diſpatch, *Blaſſius* with a fair face and low voice earneſtly admoniſh'd *Daſius*, to favour and aſſiſt the *Romans*: whereupon *Daſius* crying out, that he was impudently ſollicited in the very preſence of the Captain by the Priſoner; which becauſe it ſeem'd incredible, and was heard only by one, and ſpoken by an enemy, the truth was not believ'd. But not long after the wonderful Conſtancy of *Blaſſius* drew *Daſius* to his party, by which means he delivered up *Salapia* to *Marcellus*, with Five Hundred *Numidians* that were there in Garriſon.

2. *Phocion* the *Athenian*, when the *Athenians* had had proſperous ſucceſs in the management of an affair contrary to his advice, yet ſo obſtinately defended his own opinion, that he told them in his Speech, that though he rejoyced in their Succeſs, yet his Counſel was much the better, if they had followed it. For he did not condemn what he ſaw well done, ſeeing it had ſucceeded, what they undertook by ill advice; accompting the one fortunate, the other wiſely advis'd. Fortune makes raſhneſs to be approv'd when it proſpers by bad counſel, which as it cauſes more vehement miſchief, ſo the good it brings is the more unexpected. The manners of *Phocion*, pleaſing, liberal and endued with all ſweetneſs, were the cauſe that he was by the conſent of all men adorn'd with the Sirname of *Good*. And therefore Conſtancy, which by nature ſeems more rigid, flow'd more gently out of his mild Breaſt.

3. But the mind of *Socrates*, clad with the ſtrength of Virility, produced a more rugged Example of firm Reſolution. The whole City of *Athens*, being car-

ried away with a moſt wicked and barbarous errour, had pronounced a moſt ſad ſentence againſt the ten Prætors, that had overthrown the Navy of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Æginuſæ*. It hapned that *Socrates* was then in ſo great Authority, as at whoſe diſcretion the People made their publick Edicts; who thinking it an unworthy thing, that ſo many and ſo well deſerving perſons ſhould unworthily be taken off by the violence of Envy, oppos'd his own Conſtancy to the Raſhneſs of the Multitude: Nor could he be compell'd by the Clamours and violent Threats of the People, to give his conſent to their publick madneſs. Which being thus by his oppoſition hindred from raging in a lawful manner, reſolved unjuſtly to embrue their hands in the innocent blood of the Prætors. Yet was not *Socrates* afraid of the Eleventh Fury of his enraged Country, like enough then to have taken his Life alſo.

4. The next Example, though not of the ſame ſplendour, yet is it to be accompted as a certain experiment of Conſtancy, as well in regard of the Efficacy as the Fidelity of the perſon. *Ephialtes* at *Athens* was commanded to accuſe ſeveral perſons, and among the reſt to ſet down the name of *Demoſtratus*, whoſe Son was *Democrates*, a Youth of excelling Beauty, and by him ardently belov'd. The Accuſer therefore, cruel by reaſon of his Office, but conſidering his private affection miſerable and guilty, when the Boy came to entreat for mitigation of his Fathers puniſhment, proſtrating himſelf at his Lovers feet, *Ephialtes* could not endure to behold him; but with his head cover'd, weeping and lamenting, ſuffer'd him to pour forth his Prayers in vain. Yet nevertheleſs he condemn'd *Demoſtratus*, whom he had with a ſincere fidelity accuſed; having got the Victory, I cannot ſay whether with greater praiſe or torment, becauſe that before he inflicted puniſhment upon the Guilty, he vanquiſh'd himſelf.

5. Him

5. Him *Dion* of *Syracuſe* exceeds, though by an example of a various nature. Who being adviſ'd by certain perſons to be more wary of *Heraclides* and *Calippus*, in whom he had plac'd a great confidence, as now plotting deſignes againſt him, made anſwer, that he had rather looſe his Life, than out of fear of a violent Death, make no diſtinction between his Friends and his Enemies.

6. That which follows is not only admirable for the thing it ſelf, but alſo illuſtrious, when we conſider the Author. *Alexander* King of the *Macedonians*, having in a very great Battle broken the Forces of *Darius*, being almoſt ſcalded with the heat of the Weather and his Travail, threw himſelf into *Cydnus*, a River running by *Tarſus*, eminent for the excellency of the water. Upon a ſuddain, with drinking over-much, his Nerves being ſtupified with cold, and his Arteries benumm'd, he was carried in that condition to a Town adjoining to the Camp, to the great conſternation of the whole Army. While he lay ill at *Tarſus*, in the extremity of his Sickneſs, the hopes of preſent Victory boyl'd in his Breaſt. And therefore calling his Phyſicians, he ſought for all Remedies to reſtore his health; who all pitching upon one Potion, which was to be made and given him by the hands of *Philip* his Friend and Companion, he received Letters at the ſame time from *Parmenio*, adviſing him to beware of the treachery of *Philip*, whom *Darius* had certainly corrupted. Nevertheleſs, after he had read the Letters he drank off the Potion, and then gave the Letters to *Philip* to read. For which conſtant opinion of the Reality of his Friend, he received a moſt worthy Reward from the Immortal Gods, who would not permit the Remedy of his Health to be diſappointed by any ſurmiſed Suſpition of Treachery in the delivery of it.

LIB. IV.

CHAP. I.

Of Moderation.

Among the ROMANS.

1. P. Valerius Poblicola *Coſs.*
2. Furius Camillus *Exile.*
3. Marcius Rutilius.
4. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus *Coſ.*
5. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
6. *The Elder* Africanus.
7. Claudius Marcellus.
8. Sempronius Gracchus *Coſ.*
9. Claudius Nero *Conſul.*
10. P. Scipio Æmilianus *Coſ.*
11. Q. Mucius Scævola.
12. Metellus Macedonian.
13. Metellus Numidian.
14. Cato *of* Utica.
15. Calpurnius Bibulus *Proc.*

FORRAIGN.

1. Architas Tarentine.
2. Plato Athenian.
3. Dion *of* Syracuſe.
4. Thraſybulus *the* Athenian.
5. Staſippus *of* Tagea.
6. Pittacus Mitylene.
7. *Seven wiſe men.*
8. Theopompus *King of* Lacedæmon.
9. Antiochus *King of* Syria.

I Shall paſs to the moſt wholeſome part of Inſtruction, Moderation of Mind, which will not ſuffer our Minds to be diverted from the right way by the aſſaults of Raſhneſs. Whence it falls out to be not only without reprehenſion, but moſt wealthy in the treaſures

ſures of praiſe; and therefore let us ſhew the effects thereof in men of Fame.

1. And that I may begin from the Cradle of Honour, *P. Valerius*, who for the honour he bore the Majeſty of the people, was called *Poblicola*; who after Kingſhip was driven out of *Rome*, ſeeing the whole ſtreſs of their power, the Enſignes of their Authority tranſlated to himſelf under the Title of Conſul, he reduced the envious height of Magiſtracy to a Habit eaſily to be endured. He made the *Faſces* give way to the *Axes*, in all publick Aſſemblies laying them down at the feet of the people: he brought the number of the *Faſces* to be leſs by one half, and of his own accord took *Lucretius* to be his Colleague in Authority; before whom, becauſe he was the Elder, he cauſed the *Faſces* to be carried firſt. He alſo enacted a Law in the Aſſemblies of the Hundreds, That no Magiſtrate ſhould ſtrike or kill a *Roman* Citizen; ſo that the freer the Condition of the City was, the more he by little and little extenuated his own Authority. He alſo pulled down his own houſe, becauſe that being ſeated in a higher part of the City, it ſeemed to have the reſemblance of a Caſtle. Thus lower in his houſe, did he not appear higher in his glory?

2. I can no ſooner forſake *Poblicola*, but I am pleas'd in coming to *Furius Camillus*: Whoſe Tranſlation and change from great Ignominies to higheſt Command, was ſo moderate, that when his Fellow-Citizens, after that *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, required his aſſiſtance, being then an Exile in *Ardea*, he had no ſooner began his Journey to *Veii*, there to take charge of the Army, but that he underſtood all things were confirmed in moſt ſolemn manner in relation to his being made Dictator. Magnificent was the *Veientine* Triumph of *Camillus*, famous was his Victory over the *Gauls*, but much more admirable that his Pauſe; for it

was

was a harder labour for him to overcome himself than the Enemy; neither avoiding adversity with too much haste, nor meeting adversity with too much joy.

3. Equal to *Furius* in Moderation, was *Marcius Rutilius Censorinus*: For being a second time created Censor, he called the people together to an Assembly, and in a Speech most sharply reprehended them, that they had twice conferred that Office upon him; seeing that their Ancestors thought rather fit to abridge and confine the time of holding the same, as being too great for one man. Both did well, both *Censorinus* and the people: for the one instructed them to bestow their high Honour with Moderation, the other intrusted themselves in the hands of a moderate person.

4. Go to! *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, what a Consul was he? whose honour when the Conscript Fathers would have continued not onely for his egregious acts, but because the people intended to continue the same Tribunes again the next year, neither of which could be legally done; he hindered the endeavours of both, not onely restraining the endeavours of the Senate, but constraining the Tribunes to follow the Example of his own Modesty.

5. But *Fabius Maximus* having observ'd that himself had been Consul five times, and oftner by his Father, Grandfather, and Great-Grandfather, at the Assembly of the People, where his Son was created Consul, pleaded very hard with the people, That they would permit a vacation of Honour to the Family of the *Fabii*: Not that he did mistrust the Vertues of his Son, for he was a person of great Honour, but that the supream Honour of the Commonwealth should not remain in one Family. What more powerful than this Moderation, that could so overcome his Fatherly affections, which are generally so strong in Parents?

6. There

6. There was no Gratitude wanting among our Anceſtors to give the rewards due to the Elder *African*; ſeeing that they have endeavoured to adorn his greateſt Enterprizes with equal Honours. Willing they were to place his Statue in the great Halls of Juſtice, and Publick Aſſemblies, over the *Roſtra* in the Court; and in the Temple of *Jupiter* himſelf, they were willing to adorn his Statue with Triumphal Habits, and lay it upon the Cuſhions or Beds of the Gods in the Capitol. They would have given him the Conſulſhip as long as he lived, or a perpetual Dictatorſhip. But he not enduring any Act of the People, nor Edict of the Senate to paſs in his behalf, carried himſelf with more Honour in refuſing thoſe Honours, than he had got in obtaining them.

With the ſame ſtrength of mind he defended the Cauſe of *Hannibal* in the Senate, when his own Citizens by their Ambaſſadors accuſed him of raiſing Sedition among um. Adding, that it did not become the Conſcript Fathers to meddle in the affairs of the *Carthaginians*; with a moſt high moderation conſulting the ſafety of the one, and the dignity of the other; which amounted to a Victory, while both ſeemed to act the parts of an Enemy.

7. But *Marcus Marcellus*, who was the firſt that taught that the *Carthaginians* could be vanquiſhed, and *Syracuſe* taken, when in the time of his Conſulſhip the *Syracuſans* came into the City to complain againſt him, he would not permit the Senate to hear the Cauſe, becauſe his Colleague was by chance abſent, leſt the *Sicilians* ſhould grow fearful or remiſs in their Accuſation: But aſſoon as his Partner returned, he himſelf was the firſt that put the Senate in mind of calling in the *Syracuſans*; and patiently heard them while they made their Complaints. And though they were commanded by *Levinus* to depart, yet he

cauſed

caused them to stay, that they might be present at his defence. Afterwards when both parties had been heard, he followed them going out of the Court, that the Senate might be the more free in passing their Sentence. And when their Accusations were rejected, he courteously embraced them, suppliantly entreating him to receive them into his protection. Moreover, having drawn *Sicily* by Lot, he yielded that Province to his Colleague. And indeed so often may the Praises of *Marcellus* be varied, as he made use of various degrees of Moderation toward his Associates.

8. How admirable did *Tiberius Gracchus* render himself! For being Tribune of the People, though he bare a profess'd hatred to the *Scipio*'s both *African* and *Asiatic*; yet when the *Asiatic Scipio* not being able to pay the Money wherein he was condemn'd, was therefore by the Consul commanded to be carried to Prison, upon his appeal to the Colledge of Tribunes, when no man would intercede for him, he dissenting and departing from the Colledge, made a Decree: And when every one thought that in the writing thereof he would have us'd the words and expressions of an angry enemy; In the first place he swore that he was not friends with *Scipio*, and then recited this Decree of his own framing: *That whereas* Cornelius Scipio *had cast into Prison the Captains of the Enemy, led before his Chariot on the day of his Triumph; it was unworthy and unbecoming the Majesty of the* Roman *People, that he should be led thither himself. And therefore he would not suffer it to be done.* Then willingly the *Roman* People saw how *Gracchus* had deceived them in their opinion, and extoll'd his Moderation with deserved Praise.

9. *Claudius Nero* is also to be number'd among the choice Examples of principal *Moderation*. He was partner in glory with *Livius Salinator* in the defeat of

of *Asdrubal*. Yet he chose rather to follow him triumphing on Horseback, than to accept of that honour of Triumph, which the Senate had equally decreed to him; because the action was perform'd in *Salinator*'s Province. Wherefore he triumph'd without a Chariot, so much the more renownedly, because only the Victory of the one, but the Moderation of the other was thereby commended.

10. Nor does the Younger *Africanus* suffer us to pass him by in silence: Who being Censor, when he muster'd the Army, and in the Sacrifice then wont to be made, the Scribe was also singing a solemn Hymn of Praise set down in the Books, the Gods were supplicated to prosper and advance the affairs of the *Roman* People: *They are*, said he, *in a condition good and great enough, and therefore I desire the Gods to preserve them safe as they are.* And therefore ordered the Song to be mended accordingly in the publick Records. Which Modesty the Censors when they muster'd ever after us'd in their Prayers. Prudently believing, that then the increase of the *Roman* Empire was to be sought, when they sought for Triumphs but Seven Miles from the City. But when they now possessed the greatest part of the World, that it was a piece of over-Covetousness to desire more. Being happy if they lost nothing of what they had already won.

Nor did his Moderation appear less in his Censorship before the Tribunal. For when he was mustering the Centuries of the Horsemen, when he saw *Licinius* the Priest appear according to his Summons; *I know*, said he, *that he hath perjur'd himself in a set form of fram'd words for the nonce.* And therefore if any one would accuse him, he would be a witness: But when no man appear'd, *Deliver thy Horse*, said he, *Priest, and buy the Censor's mark, lest I be forced to act the part of an Accuser, Witness and Judge against thee.*

11. Which

11. Which temper of minde is also taken notice of in *Q. Scævola*, a most excellent Personage: For being produced as a witness against a Criminal, when he had answered that which seemed to make much against the party, he added at his going away, that they ought not to give him onely Credit, unless many others did aver the same thing; for that to believe the testimony of one, seem'd to be of a very evil Example: Whereby he procured that Faith which was due to his Sincerity, and at the same time gave wholsome advice for the Common good.

12. I am sensible what Citizens, what Deeds and Sayings of theirs I am forced to comprehend in a narrow compass of Oration; but when many and great things are to be spoken concerning the renown of great men, there is no relation comprehending infinite persons and transactions that can perform both. And therefore our purpose is not to praise, but to record them all; and therefore the two *Metelli*, the *Macedonian* and *Numidian*, two the greatest Ornaments of their Country, desire leave to be briefly remember'd. The *Macedonian Metellus* had most eagerly contended with the *African Scipio*; and this Contention arising out of an Emulation of each others Vertue, grew to most grievous and terrible hatred of each other: but when he heard it reported that *Scipio* was slain, he ran into the publick street with a sad Countenance and confused Out-cry, crying out, *Arm, arm, Citizens arm, the Walls of our City are defaced and ruined:* For *Scipio* was violently slain at home in his own house. Oh unhappy Commonwealth in the death of *Africanus*, but happy in the generous and kinde Lamentation of *Macedonicus!* For at the same time he made known how brave a Prince she had lost, and how brave a one she enjoy'd. He ordered his Sons also to be the Supporters of his Bier, adding this voice of Honour to his Funeral,

Funeral, *That it would never be their fortune to perform that Office to a greater man.* Where were now those many Quarrels in the Court? those many dissentions before the Pulpits for Orations? where the Gown-contests of so great Leaders and Commonwealths-men? All these this most Venerable Moderation utterly cancell'd.

13. But the *Numidian Metellus* driven from his Country by Popular Faction, retir'd into *Asia*; where when he received Letters as he was at *Tralles* beholding certain sports, reporting that with the universal consent of Senate and People, his return to his own Country was freely granted him, he would not stir out of the Theatre till the Play was ended: Not shewing any change of gladness to those that sate next him of any side, but confin'd his great joy within himself, carrying the Countenance in his Exilement, as at his Restoration. So indifferently did he behave himself between Adversity and Prosperity, by the advantage of his Moderation.

14. So many Families being numbered up famous for one kind of Vertue, is it fit that we leave out the *Portian* Name, as wanting their share in this part of Glory? The younger *Cato* will not so permit it, not a little trusting to no small Exemplar of his own Moderation. He had brought the *Cyprian* Money with great diligence and sincerity into the City; for which Office the Senate ordained, that at the next *Prætorian* Assemblies Extraordinary consideration should be taken: but he would not suffer it to be done, affirming it to be unjust, that what was never decreed to any other, should be decreed to him. And left any new Custome should arise from his person, he rather chose the hazards of the field, than to accept the kindness of the Senate.

15. While I am endeavouring from hence to pass to Forraign

Forraign Examples, *Marcus Bibulus*, a person of great Dignity, and sacred for his high Honours, lays hands upon me; who when he lay in *Syria*, receiving News that two of his Sons, of admirable hopes, were both slain by the Souldiers of *Gabinius*, the Murtherers of whom were afterwards sent him bound by *Cleopatra*, to take the revenge of so great a Calamity at his own pleasure. He, notwithstanding so great an advantage was offered him, that a person so provoked could not desire a greater, yet caused his Grief to give way to his Moderation, sending immediately back to *Cleopatra* the Butchers of his own flesh and blood; telling her withal, That the power of Revenge did not belong to him, but to the Senate.

FORRAIGN.

1. *Architas* the *Tarentine*, while he almost drowns himself at *Metapontus* in the Precepts of *Pythagoras*, after long labour and study, having freighted himself with the whole Body of Learning, returned into his own Country; where when he came to look after his Estate, he found, through the negligence of his Bayliff, his Farms very much decay'd and spoil'd: Whereupon beholding his ill-deserving Servant, *I had most certainly*, said he, *punish'd thee according to thy desert, but that I am angry with thee.* And therefore he had rather let him go unpunish'd, than in his anger punish him more than was just.

2. The Moderation of *Architas* was over-liberal, that of *Plato* more temperate. For being over-vehemently provok'd by a Servant that had committed a great Crime, fearing he should himself exceed the measure of his chastisement, committed the correction to his Friend *Speusippus*; deeming it an unhandsome thing if he had done amiss, that the fault of his Servant, and the

the correction of *Plato* ſhould deſerve the ſame reprehenſion: which makes me no leſs wonder that he was ſo conſtantly moderate toward *Zenocrates* his Scholar. *Plato* was informed that he had ſpoken ill of him many times. He without heſitation ſlighted the accuſation. The Informer very ſeriouſly asked him, Why he did not believe him? who replied, That it was not credible that he whom he loved ſo well ſhould not love him as well again. At length when the envie of the Make-bate confirm'd his ſtory with Oaths, he affirm'd, That he did not believe him perjur'd; however, if *Zenocrates* did ſay ſuch things of him, he would not have ſaid them, but that he thought it convenient to ſpeak ſo. One would have thought his Soul had not kept her Station in a Mortal Body, but in a Celeſtial Tower, and as it were armed, that could ſo invincibly keep off the Incurſions of Humane Vices, keeping the whole number of Vertues in the cloſe Fortreſs of the breaſt.

3. *Dion* of *Syracuſe* could not deſerve equal Commendation with *Plato* for Learning, but of his Moderation he gave a larger Experiment. He being expelled his Country by *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, went to *Megara*; where coming to give the King of that City a Viſit, but not finding admittance after a long and tedious waiting, ſaid he to his friend, *This is patiently to be endured, for perhaps when we were in Authority we our ſelves did ſomething like this.* By which tranquillity of Minde he made his own Exile more pleaſing to himſelf.

4. *Thraſibulus* is next to be recorded: who when the people of *Athens* were forced to leave their Country through the Cruelty of the Thirty Tyrants, and to live miſerably diſperſed, and wandering without any home, brought them back to their own Country. However, he made the victorious Reſtoration of their Liberty more renowned by his moſt applauded Mode-

ration: For he made a Law, That no mention should be made of things past. This Act of Oblivion which the *Athenians* call *Amnestia*, restored the shaken and decaying State of the City to its former condition of Honour.

5. Not less admirable is this that follows. *Stasippus* of *Tegea*, when his friends advised him by any means to kill or remove a person that was his Rival in the Administration of the Commonwealth, though otherwise a very just and upright person, denied to do any such act, fearing that the place in Government, which a good man now enjoyed, should be possessed by one of a perverse and evil disposition, coming in his room.

6. The breast of *Pittacus* was well endued with Moderation; who being become an absolute Tyrant over his Country, when *Alcæus* the Poet not onely prosecuted him with an inveterate hatred, but with the strength of his sharp Wit, onely gave him to understand what was in his power to do.

7. The mention which I have made of this man, brings to our consideration the Moderation of the seven Wise men. A certain person had bought a Draught of certain Fishermen in the Country of *Milesium*; who bringing up a golden Table of *Delphos*, of a very exceeding great weight, a very great Dispute arose; these affirming the sale onely of Fish, the person affirming he bought the Draught in general. By reason of the novelty of the Accident, and the value of the Treasure, the business was referred to the judgment of all the City: they thought it convenient to consult the Oracle to whom the Table belonged: the God answered, that it was to be given to him that excelled in Wisdom, in these words:

Ὃς σοφίῃ πάντων πρῶτος, τούτῳ τρίποδ' ἂν δῷ.

Who first in Wisdom all excells, to him the Tripos give.

There-

Thereupon the *Milesians* by consent gave the Table to *Thales*: he yielded it to *Byas*, *Byas* to *Pittacus*; and so from one to another, at length it came to *Solon*, who gave the attribute of chiefest Wisdom, as also the reward, to *Apollo* himself.

8. And to witness the Moderation of *Theopompus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*; who being the first Author of the creation of the *Ephori*, which were to be a Curb to the Kingly power in *Lacedæmon*, as the Tribunes were a Curb to the Consular Authority in *Rome*; and for that cause reprehended by his wife, that he had done that which would lessen the grandeur of his Children: *I shall leave it less*, said he, *but more lasting*. Rightly said; for that power is most lasting that gives limits to it self. Therefore *Theopompus* by binding a Kingdom in legal Fetters, the more he withdrew it from Licentious power, the more he fixed it in the good will of his Subjects.

9. But *Antiochus* being driven by *L. Scipio* to the utmost limits of the Kingdom, beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, having lost *Asia* and all the adjacent Kingdoms, thought himself bound, without dissimulation, to return thanks to the *Romans*, that being freed from great Cares, they had confin'd him to govern a moderate Territory. And indeed there is nothing so Illustrious or Magnificent, which may not be tempered by Moderation.

Chap. II.

Of Reconciliation.

1. M. Æmilius Lepidus *and* M. Fulvius Flaccus *Cenſors.*
2. M. Livius Salinator *and* C. Claudius Nero *Coſs.*
3. *The Elder* Africanus *and* T. Sempronius Gracchus.
4. M. Tullius Cicero *and* A. Gabinius.
5. P. Clodius Pulcher, *and* T. Cornelius Lentulus.
6. L. Caninius Gallus *and* C. Antonius.
7. M. Cælius Rufus *and* Q. Pompey.

WHich being demonſtrated by many and moſt renowned preſidents, let us paſs to a moſt rare Affection of the Mind, or the courſe of Hatred to Friendſhip, and let us purſue it in a pleaſant Style. For if the boiſterous Sea prove calm, and the ſtormy Sky appear with a ſerene aſpect, and War making a change for Peace, be no ſmall cauſe of comfort; the aſſwagement of the bitterneſs of Hatred is to be celebrated with a candid Narration.

1. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, twice Conſul, and high Prieſt, equal in the Splendour of his Honours to the Gravity of his Life, bare an inveterate and continued Hatred to *Fulvius Flaccus*, a perſon of the ſame dignity; which aſſoon as they were both declared Cenſors together, he laid aſide in the Field. Believing it unreaſonable for thoſe to be at private difference, who were coupled together in Supreme publick Authority. That

That judgment of his mind the preſent Age hath approved, and the old Writers of Annals have recorded to us as a thing moſt worthy of applauſe.

2. Nor would they let the illuſtrious advice of *Livius Salinator* for the ending of Quarrels be unknown to Poſterity. For though he went into Exile with a burning hatred againſt *Claudius Nero*, anger'd at the teſtimony which he gave againſt him; yet when the People had recall'd him, and made him Partner with *Nero* in the Conſulſhip, he commanded himſelf to forget his own diſpoſition, which was moſt fiery, and the heavy injury which he had received. Leſt by denying to take the Conſortſhip of Government, through the inward diſaffection of his mind, he ſhould have acted the part of an evil Conſul, by ſhewing his hatred to his Enemy. Which inclination of his mind to a better diſpoſition, in an unſafe and difficult conjuncture of affairs, wrought no ſmall advantage to the City and all *Italy*; while they ſupported with an equal ſtrength of vertue, were the firſt that broke the force and turn'd the fortune of the *Carthaginians*.

3. A fair Example alſo we finde in the Elder *African* and *T. Gracchus* of Enmity laid aſide. For at the ſacred Rites of that Table, to which they came with a boyling Hatred each to other, from the ſame Table they departed entire Friends. For *Scipio*, at the mediation of the Senate, not contented to enter into Friendſhip with *Gracchus* in the Capitol, at the Feaſt of *Jupiter*; he there alſo eſpouſed his Daughter *Cornelia* to him.

4. This gentile humour appear'd chiefly in *M. Cicero*: For he moſt vehemently defended *A. Gabinius* accus'd of Bribery, who had expell'd him out of the City in his Conſulſhip. And the ſame perſon preſerv'd *P. Vatinius* from two publick Judgements, though he were alwaies an enemy to his Dignity: As

without any imputation of Levity, ſo with ſome Praiſe. For with better pretence Injuries are overcome by Benefits, than retaliated with obſtinate Animoſity.

5. Which act of *Cicero*'s ſeem'd ſo laudable, that *P. Pulcher*, his utter Enemy, did not diſdain to follow it. Who being accus'd of Inceſt by the three *Lentuli*, received one of them into his protection, at the ſame time accuſed for corrupting the People, to obtain an Office: and gave his mind wholly (beholding the Judge, the Prætor, and the Temple of *Veſta*) to act all Friendſhip for the ſame *Lentulus*, though the other at the ſame time endeavoured to ruine his reputation with a foul crime.

6. *Caninius Gallus* alſo ſhew'd himſelf wonderful in Courteſie both toward the Criminal, and to his Accuſer: For to *Antonius*, whom he had condemn'd, he gave his Daughter; and *Colonius*, by whom he was accuſed, he made Overſeer of his Eſtate.

7. As for *Cælius Rufus*, though his Life were infamous, yet the Pity that he ſhewed to *Q. Pompeius* was to be applauded; who being caſt at a publick Trial by himſelf, when his Mother *Cornelia* would not reſtore the Farms, which he had conveyed to her in truſt, at the requeſt of *Lentulus* in a Letter, he with great fervency made a Journey to her: He ſhewed the Letter, which teſtified the Neceſſity of *Pompey*; whereby he overcame the impious Covetouſneſs of *Cornelia*. A deed, for its moſt compaſſionate Humanity, to be applauded even in *Cælius* himſelf; and to be imitated, though *Rufus* were the Author.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Abſtinence and Continence.

ROMAN *Examples.*

1. Scipio African *the Elder.*
2. Cato *of* Utica.
3. Nero Claudius Druſus *and* Antonia.
4. Cn. Martius Coriolanus.
5. Curius Dentatus *Coſ.*
6. C. Fabricius Luſcnus *Coſ.*
7. Q. Ælius Tubero *Coſ.*
8. L. Æmilius Paulus *Procoſ.*
9. *The* Roman *Ambaſſadours* Fabius Gurges, Cn. Fabii Pictores, *and* Q. Ogulnius.
10. L. Calpurnius Piſo.
11. Cato *the Elder.*
12. Cato *of* Utica.
13. P. Scipio Emilianus.
14. *The People of* Rome.

FORRAIGN.

1. Pericles *the* Athenian.
2. Sophocles *the* Athenian.
3. Xenocrates *the Academic.*
4. Diogenes *the Cynic.*

WIth great care and moſt deliberate ſtudy are we now to relate, how thoſe impetuous deſires of Luſt and Avarice have by Reaſon and Councel been remov'd from the breaſts of great Perſons. For that City, that Family, that Kingdom eaſily remains in a laſting and firm degree of Eſtabliſhment, where Luſt and Avarice challenge the leaſt prerogative. For where thoſe Plagues of Humane kinde have gotten footing, there Injury prevails, and Infamy rages. But forgetting thoſe, let us call to minde Cuſtomes contrary to thoſe moſt peſtilent Vices.

1. *Scipio* in the twenty fourth year of his Age, having taken *New Carthage* in *Spain*, and conceiving

in his mind prosperous hopes of taking the greater *Carthage*, had regained into his power many Hostages, which the *Carthaginians* kept close in that Town, and among the rest a Virgin of most surpassing Beauty mature in years, though he were young, unmarried and a Conquerour, yet understanding that she was of a Noble Family among the *Celtiberians*, and affianced to *Indibilis*, one of the Princes of that Countrey, he sent for her Parents and her Spouse, and delivered untouch'd to her own Friends, adding to her Dowry the Gold that was brought for her Ransome. Which Continency and Bounty of his so moved *Indibilis*, that he wrought with the *Celtiberians* to take part with the *Romans*, thereby approving himself truly grateful for so great a favour.

2. As *Spain* was a witness of this mans Abstinence, so did *Epirus*, *Achaia*, the *Cyclade* Islands, the Sea-Coast of *Asia*, and *Cyprus*, give testimony to the Continence of *Cato*: From whence when he had the charge of sending great sums of Money, he carried himself as free from Wantonness, as from desire of Gain, though he had opportunity enough to have been intemperate in both: For the Royal Treasure was all at his charge, and he was forced every where to take up his Lodgings in Cities the most fruitful of all pleasures. And this is testified in writing by *Minatius Rufus*, his faithful Companion in the *Cyprian* Expedition. Though I rely not altogether upon his testimony; the subject it self is a sufficient proof, seeing that *Cato* and Continence were both born from the same Womb of Nature.

3. Most certain it is that *Drusus Germanicus*, the glory of the *Claudian* Family, a rare Ornament of his Countrey, and which is above all the rest, for the greatness of his Actions, considering his Age, near approaching to the Grandeur of his Imperial Father-in-

Law

Law and Brother, was eminently known to have confin'd his love of Women within the particular and single affection to his own Wife. *Antonia* alſo, a woman ſurpaſſing in Praiſe the Maſculine Renown of her Family, recompenſed the love of her Husband with a Fidelity anſwerable: And after his deceaſe, in the Flower of his Age and Beauty, eſpouſed her ſelf to the Houſe of her Mother-in-law; ſo that in the ſame bed the Vigorous Youth of the one extinguiſhed, the experienced Widowhood of the other grew aged. And ſo let this Chamber put an end to theſe Examples.

4. Let us now ſpend ſome time upon Examples of thoſe who never car'd for money. *Caius Marcius* a young Gentleman of the *Porcian* Family, deſcended from the Renowned Progeny of King *Ancus*; who had their ſirname from *Coriolum* a Town of the *Volſci* by them taken: when for his noble acts of Fortitude, he was praiſed at the head of the Army by *Poſthumius Cominius* the Conſul, and reward given him of Military gifts, beſides a hundred Acres of Land, his choice of ten Captives, as many Horſes with their Trappings, a Herd of a hundred Oxen, and a great weight of Silver; yet he refuſed all, accepting of nothing but the liberty of one Captive that was his Hoſt, and one Horſe for ſervice: Through which circumſpect Moderation of minde, it is hard to judge whether he merited moſt in deſerving or refuſing thoſe Rewards.

5. But *M. Curius*, a moſt exact Rule of *Roman* Frugality, as well as a perfect Preſident of Fortitude, was not aſham'd to ſhew himſelf ſitting upon a Country-form before the fire at Supper in a Wooden platter. (You may gueſs at his Dainties.) He contemn'd the Riches of the *Samnites*, the *Samnites* admir'd his Poverty: For when they brought him a great weight of Gold, ſent him by their Country-men for a Preſent, and kindly deſired him to accept of it, he fell into a laughter,

laughter, and presently, quoth he, *You that are come hither upon a needless, if I may not call it idle Embassie, go tell the* Samnites, *That* Curius *had rather command rich men than be rich himself; and carry back that pretious gift, invented to the evil of mankinde; and remember that I can neither be overcome in Battle, nor be corrupted with Money.* The same person when he had driven *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, nevertheless would not touch the least part of all those Royal spoils that did so inrich the City. Moreover, he would not exceed the usual measure of Popular assignement, though the Senate gave to himself Fifty Acres of Land, to the people but Seven Acres; esteeming him no good Citizen, that could not be contented with what was given to others.

6. Of the same opinion was *Fabricius Luscinus*, greater than any person of his time in Honour and Authority; in Estate not above the meanest: Who when the *Samnites*, who were under his protection, sent him a Present of Ten pound of coyned Silver, Five pound weight of Gold, and as many Servants, he sent them back to *Samnium*; by the advantage of his Continency rich without Money, and attended without a Family; so much did he abound in Honour purchased by the contempt of those things. Nor was the expectation of *Fabricius* unanswered in the refusal of those Presents: For the Embassadour returning to *Pyrrhus*, and hearing *Cyrnas* the *Thessalian* telling the King of a certain *Athenian* famous for his Wisdom, who was of opinion that men should do nothing but for pleasure's sake, look'd upon it as a monstrous saying, and immediately decri'd that kind of Wisdom, both before *Pyrrhus* and the *Samnites*. For though the *Athenians* did glory in their Learning, yet there was no prudent person but would rather chuse to follow the self-denial of *Fabricius*, than the Precepts of

Epi-

Epicurus: which the event prov'd true: For that City which indulged ſo much pleaſure, loſt a very large Dominion; but an induſtrious and laborious Country holds its own: And this City could beſtow that Liberty, which the other valu'd not.

7 One might eaſily conjecture *Elius Tubero*, ſirnamed *Carus*, to have been the Diſciple of *Curius* and *Fabricius*, to whom, being then Conſul, when the *Etolians* ſent a vaſt preſent of Silver Plate, not onely of a very great weight, but alſo moſt exqaiſitely wrought; by reaſon that their Embaſſadours whom they had formerly ſent to congratulate him, upon their return had related how they ſaw him feeding onely in Earthen Diſhes: He immediately bid them be gone with their Baggage, admoniſhing them withal, that they ſhould not think that Continency and Poverty wanted the ſame ſupply. How well did he preſer his own Domeſtick meanneſs before the *Etolian* Splendour, if the ſucceeding Ages would have followed his Example! But now to what a height are we grown, that Servants refuſe to make uſe of that Houſhold-ſtuff, which would ſerve a Conſul before?

8. But after the overthrow of *Perſeus*, *Paulus* had ſo glutted the old Hereditary poverty of our City with Wealth, that at that time the *Roman* people firſt began to think of laying Taxes; yet no way enriched his own Family, accompting it enough that he by his Victories got Honour, while others got the money.

9. To this ſound judgment of his, *Q. Fabius Gurges*, *Cn. Fabius Pictores*, and *Ogulnius*, ſubſcribed, who being ſent Embaſſadours to King *Ptolomy*, ſent thoſe Gifts which they had privately receiv'd from the King, into the publick Treaſury, before they would give an account of their Embaſſie to the Senate; judging that there was nothing due for faithful ſervice to the publick, but the reward of Praiſe. But now the

Senate

Senate shew'd their gratitude, and the exact discipline of our Ancestors. For what they had laid up in the Treasury was restor'd to the Embassadours not only by the Decree of the Senate, but by the consent of the People, which was by the Questors with the same willingness paid. Thus the Liberality of *Ptolomy*, the Abstinence of the Embassadours, the Equity of the Senate and People, had in all an equal share of applause.

10. That *Calpurnius Piso* was an Imitator of the *Fabii* and *Ogulnii*, the Story makes manifest. The Consul having freed *Sicily* from the bloody War of the Fugitives, like a Commander rewarded those with Gifts, whose assistance he had made most use of; among the rest he gave to his Son, who had behaved himself valiantly, a Crown of Three Pound weight of Gold, saying withal, *That the chief Magistrate should not take out of the publick Treasure to expend upon his own Family; and that therefore he would leave so much Gold over and above to the Young man in his Will, to pay for it; that though he received his Honour publickly, he should receive the price privately from his Father.*

11. Let us see if we can finde any great person in this age that makes use of Goatskins for his Coverlid, and while he rules all *Spain*, has but three Servants to attend him; that spent no more than Five Hundred Farthings and somewhat over in his preparation for his Journey; that drank the same Drink, and eat the same Meat which the Mariners fed upon; would not that be wonderful indeed? Yet all this did the Elder *Cato* patiently endure, confining himself with an extraordinary delight to a pleasing custome of Frugality.

12. The Younger *Cato* was born at a great distance from the Continence of the antient times, coming into the world at such a time, when the City abounded in Riches

Riches and all manner of Voluptuouſneſs. Yet he having a command in the Civil Wars, and having his Son along with him, nevertheleſs had but twelve Servants with him; in number more than the former *Cato* uſed, but the alteration of the times being conſider'd, fewer.

13. I am not a little delighted in repeating the Acts of Illuſtrious Heroes. *Scipio Æmilianus*, after he had born two Conſulſhips, and been eminent for two Triumphs of his own Conqueſts, yet went upon a great Embaſſie accompanied with no more than Seven Attendants. And yet 'tis believed he might have purchas'd more with the Spoils of *Carthage* and *Numantium*, but that the praiſe of his great deeds ſhould accrew to himſelf, the Spoils to his Countrey. And therefore when he travell'd through the Countries of his Aſſociates and Allies, and other forraign Nations, they were not accompted his Slaves, but his Victories. Nor did men conſider how much Gold and Silver, but how much weight of worth he bare about him.

14. This Continence appear'd in the very breaſts of the generality of the People, but it ſhall ſuffice to relate two Examples of ages far diſtant one from another. *Pyrrhus* when he ſaw the violence of his fury at a ſtand, & that the hearts of his *Epirotes* began to fail, deſigning to purchaſe the good will of the *Roman* People, whoſe Vertue he could not overcome, had tranſported almoſt all the wealth of his Treaſures into our City. But when his Embaſſadours went from Houſe to Houſe with great Gifts fit for the uſe of Men and Women, they could not finde a door open to them. Thus the more ſtout than proſperous defender of the *Tarentine* petulancie, was repulſed and defeated as well by the Cuſtomes as Arms of the City; nor can I determine which was the greateſt Victory. In that ſtorm alſo with which *Marius* and *Cinna* infeſted the Common-

wealth,

wealth, wonderful was the abſtinence of the People. For when they left the people at liberty to ranſack the houſes of them that were by themſelves proſcribed, there was no man to be found that would lay hands upon the Prey of civil Diſcord. For every one abſtained from uſing violence toward them, as from things conſecrated to the Gods: Which compaſſionate abſtinence of the common people, was a tacit reproach to the Cruelty of the Victors.

FORRAIGN.

1. And leſt we ſhould be thought to envy the ſame applauſe to ſtrangers, *Pericles* Prince of the *Athenians*, having for his Companion in the Pretorſhip *Sophocles* the *Tragœdian*, whom he obſerv'd at the ſame time to utter certain Expreſſions over-laviſh in the praiſe of a beautiful Boy that paſs'd by, reprehended him in theſe words: *That a Magiſtrate ought to keep his eyes from luſtful deſires, as well as his hands from unlawful gain.*

2. *Socrates* himſelf being now ſtricken in years, and being demanded by one whether he yet minded his Youthful dalliances, *The Gods have taught me better*, ſaid he, *for I fled from it of my own accord, as from a furious Contagion.*

3. Of equal Continency was *Xenocrates* in his old Age; of whoſe opinion the following Relation is no ſmall teſtimony. *Phryne*, a noble Curteſan of *Athens*, while he was in drink, laid herſelf upon the bed by him, having receiv'd a ſum of money to try if ſhe could tempt him. But though he neither refuſed to hear her flattering allurements, nor to let her ſtroak and handle him, but let her lie dallying in his boſome, yet he at length put her off without prevailing in her deſigne. An abſtemious act of a mind endu'd with wiſdom. But the ſaying of the Curteſan was very facetious: For the young

young men deriding her that she being so handsome and witty, could not win the affection of an old man; and refusing to give her what they had engaged, she made answer, *The Bargain was to deal with a Man, and not a Statue.* Could this Continence of *Xenocrates* be more truly demonstrated, more truly or properly by any one than by the expression of the Curtesan her self? For *Phryne* with all her Beauty could not weaken nor move the most constant Abstinence of the Philosopher.

4. What think ye of King *Alexander?* could he tempt him with his Riches? You would have thought him a Statue, though equally assail'd as well by the King as by the Curtesan. The King sent Embassadours to him with a Present of some Talents, whom being brought into the Academy, was entertain'd according to his custom, after his mean and poor fashion. The next day the Embassadours asking him if he would have his Money told out, *I had thought*, said he, *by your yesterdays entertainment, that you had understood that my condition does not require Money.* Thus while the King was desirous to buy the Friendship of the Philosopher, the Philosopher denies to sell it him.

5. The same *Alexander* having obtained the name of Invincible, could not conquer the Continence of *Diogenes* the *Cynic*; to whom, as he was sitting in the Sun, when he came and bid him tell him wherein he might do him a kindness, as he lay in the shade, of a sordid conversation, but of a stout minde, quoth he, *As to the rest of thy proffers, by and by; but in the mean time, do not stand between me and the Sun.* Which words carried a deep sense with them: so that *Alexander* might sooner overcome *Darius* with his Arms, than remove *Diogenes* from his low estate to love wealth. The same person being told by *Aristippus* at *Syracuse*, seeing him washing Pot-herbs, that if he could

could but flatter *Dionyſius* he need not eat ſuch traſh, made this retort, quoth he, *If thou couldſt eat this mean fare, thou needſt not flatter* Dionyſius.

CHAP. IV.

Poverty praiſed.

1. P. Valerius Poplicola.
2. Agrippa Menenius.
3. C. Fabricius Luſcinus *and* Q. Æmilius Papus.
4. *Of Captains called from the Plough to command Armies.*
5. C. Attilius Regulus *Coſ.*
6. M. Attilius Regulus.
7. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, *Dictat.*
8. *The* Elian *Family.*
9. Elius Tubero, *and* L. Paulus Emilius.
10. Cn. Cornelius Scipio.
11. M. Emilius Scaurus.

THat Children are the greateſt Ornaments to Women, we finde written by *Pomponius Rufus* in his Book of Collections, in theſe words. When a *Campanian* Lady lying at the Houſe of *Cornelia*, Mother of the *Gracchi*, ſhewed her her Jewels and other Ornaments, which were the faireſt of any in that time, *Cornelia* held her in diſcourſe till her Children return'd from School. *And theſe*, quoth ſhe, when they appeared, *are my Ornaments.* For he hath all things that covets nothing, and much more certainly than he that poſſeſſes all things. For great Eſtates many times fail, but a good Habit of Minde is above the violence of Fortune. And therefore what matters it, whether we put Riches in the higheſt part of Felicity, or Poverty in the loweſt degree of Miſery? Eſpecially when the chearful countenance of Wealth is full of many conceal'd Bitterneſſes; and the more rugged

rugged and deformed aſpect of Poverty many times abounds with many ſure and ſolid Contents.

1. The pride of *Tarquin* having put an end to Kingly Government, *Valerius Publicola* with *Junius Brutus* his Colleague auſpiciouſly began the Office of Conſulſhip. The ſame perſon having afterwards born three Conſulſhips to the great content of the People, and by many and moſt renowned Actions having enlarged the Grandeur of his Nobility: And yet this great Pillar of Hiſtory died, not leaving a Patrimony ſufficient for the expences of his Funeral, which were therefore defray'd at the Publick charge. It imports not to make any farther ſearch into the Poverty of ſo great a Perſon, for it is apparent what he poſſeſſed when he lived, though being dead he wanted both a Bier and Funeral-Pile.

2. We may well gueſs how high in Dignity *Agrippa Menenius* was, whom the Senate and People choſe Arbitrator of their differences, and to make peace between um. For how great ought he to be, who was Umpire of the publick Safety? This man, unleſs the People had gathered among themſelves the ſixth part of a Penny to make up the Sum, could not have defrayed his meer Funeral-Expences, dying ſo poor that he wanted for the decency of Burial; and therefore the City divided by pernicious Sedition, were content to be reconcil'd by the Ghoſts of *Agrippa*, who though they were poor, yet they had obſerved them to be religiouſly ſincere. Who as he had nothing while he lived that could be publikly taxed, yet being deceas'd had the Concord and Unity of the City for his Patrimony.

3. I cannot deny but that there was Silver in the Houſes of *Caius Fabricius* and *Q. Emilius Papus*, the moſt principal men of their times. But *Fabricius* ſeem'd the more prodigal, becauſe he had a Horn-foot

to his Drinking-cup. But *Papus* seem'd more head-strong, who having received his Goods as hereditary, would not alienate them for religions sake.

4. They were also certainly very rich who were call'd from the Plough to be made Consuls; for pleasures sake they plough'd the sandy and barren Soil of *Pupinia*, and ignorant of delicacy scatter'd those vast clods with continued sweat and labour; so that those whom the dangers of the Common wealth call'd to be Emperours and Generals, their want at home (for why should truth conceal a Sirname?) compell'd to follow the call of Cowherds.

5. They who were sent by the Senate to call *Atilius* to undertake the Government of the *Roman* People, found him sowing in his Garden; but those hands, hardned with Countrey-labour, establish'd the safety of the Common-wealth, and defeated mighty Armies of the Enemies; and those hands that lately held the Plough, now hold the reins of the Triumphant Chariot: Nor was he asham'd, when he had laid down his Ebony Staff, to return again to the Plough Tail. Well may *Atilius* comfort the Poor, but much more instruct the Rich, how little the troublesome care of gathering Riches, advantages the true desire of purchasing solid Honour.

6. Of the same name and blood, *Atilius Regulus*, the greatest glory and the greatest calamity of the *Punic* War, when he had ruin'd the wealth of the most insolent *Carthaginian* by the success of many Victories, and understood that his authority was continued for the next year, upon consideration of his worthy deeds; he wrote to the Consuls, that his Bayly of his little Farm that he had in the Countrey of *Popinia* was dead, and that one that he had hired was gone away with his Utensils of Agriculture, and therefore desired that a Successour might be sent him, lest his land lying

lying untill'd, his Wife and Children ſhould want Bread. Which when the Conſuls had related to the Senate, they caus'd his ground to be let, and ſetled a Livelihood upon his Wife and Children, and ordered thoſe things that he had loſt to be redeem'd. Such was the Example of *Atilius*'s vertue to our Treaſury, that every Age will boaſt of among the *Romans*.

7. Equally large were the Farms of *L. Quinctius Cincinnatus*: For he poſſeſſed only ſeven Acres of Land; and of theſe he had loſt three, forfeited for a Fine, being bound to the Treaſury; and with the reſt of this little Land he paid another Forfeiture for his Son *Ceſo*, for not appearing when he was call'd to anſwer the Law. And yet when he was ploughing only four Acres of this Land, he not only upheld the dignity of his Family, but had the Dictatorſhip conferr'd upon him. He accompts himſelf to live ſplendidly now, whoſe Houſe ſtands upon as much ground as all *Cincinnatus* Farm contain'd.

8. What ſhall I ſay of the *Ælian* Family? How rich were they? There were Sixteen of that name, whoſe little Cottage ſtood where now the *Marian* Monuments ſtand, and a ſmall Farm in the Countrey of the *Veii*, that needed fewer men to till it than it had Owners; and in the Pariſhes call'd *Maximus* and *Flaminia* they had the ground where the Theater ſtood beſtowed upon them for their vertue by the Publick.

9. That Family had not one ſcruple of Silver, before that *Paulus*, after he had utterly defeated *Perſes*, gave to *Ælius Tubero*, his Son-in-Law, five Pound weight of Gold, out of the Spoils that were taken. I omit, that the chief perſon of the City gave his Daughter in marriage to one whoſe Family and Eſtate was ſo exceeding low. And he himſelf died ſo very poor, that unleſs he had ſold one Farm which he had left, there had not been ſufficient for the Dowry of his

Wife. The minds of Men and Women were then moſt noble in the City, and the worth of every Man was then in all things weighed againſt his Goods and Eſtate. For every one made it his buſineſs to ſerve his Country, not himſelf: And they rather choſe poverty in a rich Empire, than riches in a poor Empire. And to this noble reſolution that reward was given, that it was not lawful to buy any of thoſe things which were due to Vertue; and the wants of Illuſtrious Men were ſupply'd out of the publick Stock.

10. And therefore, when *Cneus Scipio* had written out of *Spain* to the Senate, deſiring that a ſucceſſor might be ſent him, for that he had a daughter now fit for marriage, and that no portion could be provided for her, without he were preſent: The Senate, leſt the Commonwealth ſhould looſe a good Captain, performed the office of a Father, and having with the advice of his Wife and Relations agreed upon the Portion, cauſed it to be paid out of the publick Treaſury. The Portion was two thouſand pieces of braſs mony: whereby not only appears the kindneſs of the *Conſcript Fathers*, but the uſual meaſure of the ancient Eſtates may be gueſſed at. For they were ſo ſmall, that *Tatia* the daughter of *Cato* was ſaid to have brought her Husband an exceeding Portion, when ſhe brought him ten thouſand pieces of braſs mony. And *Megullia*, that entred her husbands houſe with fifty thouſand pieces of braſs mony, was called for that reaſon, the *Maid with the Portion*. And therefore the Senate vindicated the daughters of *Fabricius Luſcinus*, and *Scipio*, from being portionleſs, by their own Liberality, ſeeing their Parents had nothing to give them but their wealthy honours.

11. What inheritance *M. Scaurus* received from his Father, he himſelf relates in the firſt Book that he hath wrote concerning his Life. For, ſaith he, *he had but ten*

ten Slaves, and the whole value of his Eſtate, was but thirty five thouſand pieces of mony.

Theſe Examples therefore we ought to regard, and quiet our minds with the Conſolation thereof, who are always complaining of the ſcantineſs of our own Fortunes. We find no Silver, or a very ſmall quantity, few Servants, ſeven Acres of barren Land, domeſtick Indigency, Funeral expences publickly defray'd, Daughters without Portions: But we behold famous Conſulſhips, wonderful Dictatorſhips, and innumerable Triumphs. Why do we therefore with continual reproaches torment a mean Fortune, as the chief evil of human kind? Who though with not ſuperfluouſly flowing, yet with faithful breaſts, nouriſhed the *Poplicolæ*, the *Emilii*, the *Fabricii*, the *Curii*, the *Scipios*, the *Scauri*, and all thoſe other ſupports of Vertue equal to theſe. Let us rather pull up our ſpirits, and comfort our minds, debilitated with the ſight of mony, with the memory of former times.

CHAP. I.

Of Baſhfulneſs, or Modeſty.

1. *Of the people of* Rome.
2. C. Terentius Varro *Coſ.*
3. C. Cicereius *Candidate.*
4. L. Licinius Craſſus *Candidate.*
5. Pompey *the Great.*
6. C. Julius Cæſar *Dict.*

FORRAIGN.

1. Spurina *the* Hetrurian.
2. *The* Spartan *Embaſſadors.*

FRom whence it ſeems ſeaſonable to paſs away to Baſhfulneſs: for this inſtructed the moſt juſt

men to neglect their own private Estates, and to have regard only to the publick. A vertue worthy, that to her should be Temples rear'd and consecrated, as to a Celestial Numen; as being the Parent of all good Counsel, the Guardianess of the most solemn Offices, the Mistress of Innocency; dear to her own, acceptable to Strangers, and in all places, and at all times, carrying a favourable Aspect.

1. But that we may return from the praises to the actions thereof, from the first building of the City, to the time that *Africanus* and *T. Longus* were Consuls, the Senate and People sate at the beholding all Spectacles and shews promiscuously together: yet not one of the people would venture to take place before any of the Senate. So circumspect was the modesty of our Citizens; a most certain experiment whereof appear'd on that day, when *T. Flaminius* being by the Censor removed from the Senate, was contented to stand in the hindermost part of the Theater, though he had been Consul, and was the brother of *Flaminius* the Vanquisher of *Philip* King of *Macedon*. Which the people no sooner beheld, but they compelled him to take that place which his Dignity required.

2. *Terentius Varro* gave a great wound to the Commonwealth, by his rash giving battle at *Cannæ*. Yet by his refusing to take upon him the Dictatorship, which after that was decreed him by the full consent of the Senate and People; by his bashful modesty, made satisfaction for the fault of a most fatal overthrow: and through his modest behaviour, made men impute the publick Calamity, not to him, but to the anger of the Gods.

3. Let us behold a more famous piece of Modesty. Fortune, not without great envy, had brought *Cn. Scipio*, the son of the elder *Africanus*, together with *Cicereius* the Scribe, into the Common Hall for Election

Election of Pretors; and very much reprehended he was, that he had abuſed the Nobility and authority of ſo great a perſon, by appearing at ſuch an Aſſembly. But *Cicereius* turned his crime to his praiſe. For when he ſaw himſelf preferr'd by all the Centuries before *Scipio*, he went out of the Temple, and throwing off his Candidates Garment, came in again and gave his voice for *Scipio*. Being more willing to yield the Pretorſhip to the memory of *Africanus*, than to Challenge it for himſelf. Nor was the reward of his Modeſty ſmall; for though *Scipio* obtained the Pretorſhip, yet *Cicereius* was more applauded.

4. And that we may not preſently leave the Common-Hall, when *L. Craſſus* ſtood for the Conſulſhip, and was by all perſwaded after the manner of the Candidates, to go round the *Forum*, and beg the voices of the people, he could by no perſwations be induced to do it, though *Q. Scævola* his Father in law, a moſt wiſe and grave perſon, were preſent with him; whom he therefore deſired to depart, as one who proffered his ſervice in vain: more regardful of the modeſty of his dignity, than mindful of the reſpect of his white Robe.

5. *Pompey* the Great, being overthrown at the Battle of *Pharſalia*, when all the people came forth to meet him, as he was entring into the City of *Lariſſa*; *Go*, ſaid He, *and perform this office to the Victor.* A perſon not deſerving to be overcome, had he not been vanquiſhed by *Cæſar*: moſt gentle in Calamity; who becauſe he could not uſe his authority, made uſe of his modeſty.

6. Which as it often appear'd moſt eminent in *Caius Cæſar*, ſo moſt remarkably at his death: For being aſſail'd with the points of many parracidical weapons, when his divine Soul was ſeparated from his mortal Body, could not be frighted, after he had received above twenty three wounds, from his obedience to Mo-

deſty. For he let down the lower part of his Gown with both hands, that he might fall with the lower part of his Body covered. In this manner not men, but the Immortal Gods, recover their own habitations.

FORRAIGNERS.

That which follows, I will aſcribe to Forraigners, as happening before any City was given to *Hetruria*. There was in that Country one *Spurina*, a young man of ſurpaſſing beauty; whoſe lovely aſpect, alluring the eyes of the moſt Illuſtrious Ladies, and who therefore believing himſelf to be ſuſpected of unchaſtity by the Husbands and Parents of thoſe women; with many wounds gaſh'd and ſpoyl'd the beauty of his Countenance; chooſing rather deformity for the Guardian of his fidelity, than that his beauty ſhould be the Incitement of others Luſt.

2. At *Athens*, a very aged perſon coming into the Theater, when there were none that would riſe to give him place, he came at length where ſate the Embaſſadors of the *Lacedemonians*. Who being moved with the age of the perſon, not only by riſing up ſhew'd their reverence to his aged years, but alſo gave him leave to ſit in the moſt honourable place among them. Which when the people beheld, with great applauſe they approved the modeſty of a Forraign City: And it is reported that one of the Embaſſadors ſhould ſay, *That the* Athenians *knew what was well done, but neglected to do it themſelves.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Conjugal Love.

Among the ROMANS.

1. T. Gracchus *the Elder.*
2. C. Plautius *Numidian.*
3. M. Plautius.
4. Julia *the Daughter of* Cæſar.
5. Porcia *the Daughter of* M. Cato.

FORRAIGN.

1. Artemiſia *wife of* Maſſolus.
2. Hipſicratea, *Daughter of* Mithridates.
3. Lacæna. *Of the Family of the* Minye.

FRom a gentle and mild Affection, I will proceed to another as equally honeſt, yet ſomewhat more fervent, and of a more vehement Nature; and offer not without greateſt Veneration, as it were certain Images of lawful love, to the Contemplation of the Reader, effectually relating the actions of eſtabliſhed and firm fidelity between married people, difficult to imitate, but profitable to be known: ſeeing that when a man knows the moſt excellent Examples, it will be a ſhame to him to follow the meaneſt.

1. *Titus Gracchus* having caught two ſnakes in his own houſe, a Male and Female; and being told by the Soothſayer, that if he let go the Male, it portended the death of his Wife; if he let go the Female, his own ſuddain deceaſe; following that part of the prediction that portended his own, rather than the death of his Wife, he cauſed the Female Snake to be let go; and was ſo hardy as to behold his own deſtruction in the death of the Snake kill'd before his face.

face. And therefore I cannot determine whether *Cornelia* were more happy that she had such a Husband, or more miserable in his loss. O *Admetus*, cruel king of *Thessalia*, and by a great Judg condemned of an unpardonable crime! who wert so content to change thy own life for the death of thy Wife, and couldst enjoy the comfort of this light, after she had voluntarily submitted to dye, only to prolong thy days: having a heart inferior to a womans, before thou hadst tryed the indulgence of thy parents.

2. A meaner Victime to Misfortune than *T. Gracchus*, though of the Senatorian order, was *C. Plancius* the *Numidian*, yet as to affection of the same nature, equal to him in affection. For hearing news of the death of his Wife, impatient of grief, he stab'd himself with his Sword; but by the timely coming in of his Servants being hindred from executing his purpose, and the wound being dressed and bound up, he no sooner found his oportunity, but cutting his Swathes, and tearing open the wound again, he would not endure his soul oppress with grief to remain in his Bowels: Testifying by the violence of his death, what a Conjugal flame he had shut up in his breast.

3. As of the same name, so endued with the same love, was *M. Plautius*. Who being commanded to return with the Confederate Navy into *Asia*, and putting into *Brundusium*, whither his Wife *Orestella* coming to visit him, fell sick and dyed: after she was laid upon the Funeral pile, betwixt the last duties of anointing and kissing her, he fell upon his naked Sword: whom his friends, as he was in his Military Coat, and Booted, laid by his Wife. Whose Monument is yet to be seen at *Tarentum*, with this Inscription, *THE LOVERS TOMB*. And it is not to be question'd, but that if there were any sence left in departed Souls, that they enter'd *Elysium* joyful of each others company.

4. The

4. The ſame Affection is noted in *Julia*, the daughter of *C. Cæſar*. Who when ſhe ſaw the Garment of her Husband *Pompey* the *Great* brought home ſprinkled with Blood from the Common-Hall where the *Ædils* were choſen, ſwounded away, and with the ſuddainneſs of the fright miſcarried; and preſently expired, to the great detriment of the whole world: Whoſe tranquillity had not been diſturb'd with ſo ſevere a fury of ſo many Civil Wars, if the Amity of *Cæſar* and *Pompey* had remained link'd with the Bonds of common Affinity.

5. All Ages will alſo with due admiration reverence thy moſt chaſt fires, O *Porcia*, Daughter of *Marcus Cato*, who underſtanding that her Husband *Brutus* was overthrown and ſlain at the Battle of *Philippi*, not having a weapon ready, didſt ſwallow burning Coals, thy feminine Soul imitating the maſculine Death of thy Countries welfare.

FORRAIGN.

1. There are ſome Forraign Amours juſt and honeſt, not ſhadow'd nor obſcur'd with the vail of Ignorance, of which it will be ſufficient to touch upon a few. How much *Artemiſia* Queen of *Caria* bewailed the Death of her Husband *Mauſolus*, might ſeem a light thing, to the moſt exquiſite honours of all ſorts which ſhe did him, and the Magnificence of that Monument, which became one of the Seven Wonders of the World. For why ſhouldſt thou labour to recount all thoſe Honours, or inſiſt upon the Glory of that Monument, when ſhe her ſelf would not be ſatisfied without being the living and breathing Sepulchre of *Mauſolus*, by the teſtimony of thoſe who report that ſhe drank up his Aſhes mixt in a certain drink?

2. *Hipſicratea* alſo the Queen ſo entirely loved *Mithridates*

thridates her Husband, that she let go all the reins of Affection. For whose love she apparell'd her beauty in Mans Apparel; and accustom'd her self to manlike Exercises, cutting her Hair, and betaking her self to her Horse and Arms, that she might the more easily partake of his labours and dangers; and not only so, but after he was overcome by *Pompey*, following him with an indefatigable Body and Minde in his flight through many rough and barbarous Nations. Whose faithful society was a great comfort and asswagement of the Misfortunes and Calamities of distressed *Mithridates*: For with his Court and Family he seem'd to wander, but with his Wife only to live in Exile.

3. But why should I rummage *Asia*, why the immense Solitudes of Barbarous Countries, why the lurking Holes of the *Pontic* Sea? When *Lacedemon*, the most splendid glory of *Greece*, lays before our eyes a principal Exemplar of *Conjugal Fidelity*, to be compared for the wonder of the action with the most and greatest Miracles of that City.

4. The *Minyans* setled in the Island of *Lemnos*, and drawing their Original from the antient Companions of *Jason*, through success of time expell'd by the *Pelasgi*, wanting the wealth of others, seated themselves in the high *Taygetan* Mountains: whom at length the *Spartans* entertained, as descended from the *Tyndaridæ*, which noble pair of Brothers had displayed their splendour in that renowned Ship translated to the Stars; and thus mingled among them, they enjoyed the same Laws and Priviledges. But this good turn they turned to the injury of the well deserving City, affecting the Kingdome, and therefore committed to the publick Prison, they were reserv'd for publick punishment. Which when they were to suffer, according to the Custome of the *Lacedæmonians* in the Night-

time,

time, their Wives, of noble Race, desiring leave of the Keepers to take leave of their dying Husbands, entred the Prison, and changing their Habits, gave their Husbands liberty, having covered their Faces under pretenc of sorrow, to depart. Now what shall I adde more in this place, but that they were Wives worthy for the *Minyans* to marry?

CHAP. VII.

Of the Bond of Friendship.

Among the ROMANS.

1. T. Sempronius Gracchus *with* C. Blosius.
2. Sempronius Gracchus *with* Pomponius *and* Lucretius.
3. Lucius Rhegius *with* Servilius Cæpio.
4. T. Volumnius *with* M. Lucullus.
5. Lucius Petronius *with* P. Cælius.
6. Servius Terentius *with* D. Brutus.
7. C. Lælius *with* Scipio, *and* M. Agrippa *with* Augustus.

FORRAINERS.

1. Damon *and* Pythias.
2. Alexander *the Great with* Ephestion.

LEt us now consider the Bond of Friendship, potent and mighty, and no way inferiour to the strength and force of the Blood. In this more certain and demonstrable, that this the chance of birth a fortuitous work produces; the other the uncompell'd Will contracts, upon grounds and reasons of solid judgment, And therefore it is an easier thing, and less subject to reprehension, to slight a Kinsman than a Friend. For the one betokens a wicked ingratefull disposition, the other

other only a levity of minde. For when the life of man lies as it were in a ſolitude, without the guard of Friendſhip, ſo neceſſary an aſſiſtance ought not unadviſedly to be choſen, but being once approved, ought not in any meaſure to be deſpiſed. But the moſt ſincere Friendſhip always appears in Adverſity; where whatever good offices are performed, proceed from a conſtant kindneſs and affection. The adoration of Felicity, being to be attributed more to Flattery than Love, is full of Suſpicion, and ſtill deſires more than it expends. For men of unſhaken fortunes more deſire friends, either for a guard, or for their ſociety. For affairs that go well and proſperouſly, as being favour'd with heavenly Succeſs, have the leſs need of other aſſiſtance. And therefore their Memories have laſted longer in the Book of Memoires, who have deſerted their Friends in Adverſity, than theirs who have only been the Companions of Proſperity. No man talks of the familiars of *Sardanapalus*. *Oreſtes* is better known by his friend *Pylades*, than by *Agamemnon* his Father. For the Friendſhip of the one conſum'd away in the participation of Luxury and Delight; but the mutual Society of the other, in a ſad and hard condition, grew famous by the trial of their Miſeries. But why do I mention Forreigners, having firſt to do with our own Countrymen?

1. *T. Gracchus* was eſteem'd to have been an Enemy to his Country, and not undeſervedly; becauſe he preferr'd his own Authority before the Welfare thereof. Yet in this evil deſigne of his, how faithful a Friend he had of *C. Bloſius* of *Cumæ*, will be worth our while to relate. An adjudged Enemy, ſuffering the higheſt Puniſhment, not permitted the honour of Burial, wanted not however his kindneſs. For when the Senate commanded *Rupilius* and *Lænax* the Conſuls to proceed againſt all thoſe that had been partakers with

with *Gracchus*, and that *Blosius* presented himself before *Lelius*, to beg pardon for himself, urging his familiarity with *Gracchus* for an excuse; when *Lelius* demanded of him, whether if *Gracchus* had commanded him to set fire on the Temple of *Jupiter*, would he have done it? That, said he, *Gracchus* had never commanded: He had done enough and more, for he ventur'd to defend those Customes which the Senate condemn'd. But that which follows was much more confident and more dangerous; for being still prest by *Lelius* to make an answer to his question, he resolutely persisted, affirming, that if *Gracchus* had commanded him to burn the Temple, he would have done it. Who could have thought he had been so wicked, had he held his peace? Who would not have accounted him wise, had he been less free in his speech, considering the necessity of the time? But *Blosius* neither with an honest Silence, nor with a prudent Answer cared to preserve himself, lest he should be thought to have silenced the memory of his unhappy Friendship.

2. In the same Family equally prevalent Examples of Friendship arise. For when all the Designes and Counsels of *Gracchus* were utterly defeated, and all his Conspiracy brought to light; being deserted of all assistance, only his two friends *Pomponius* and *Latorius*, by interposing their own bodies, covered him from the Darts that fell round about him. And of these two, *Pomponius*, that he might more easily escape, withstood a whole body of Souldiers that eagerly pursued him at the *three-double Gate*; nor could he be moved while he lived, till at length having received many Wounds, he fell, and (though I am apt to believe unwillingly) was forced to permit them passage over his dead Carcass. *Latorius* made a stand upon the *Sublician* Bridge, and till *Gracchus* was pass'd over maintain'd

tain'd it with the heat of his Courage, till at length overpowr'd with the multitude, turning his ſword upon himſelf, he made a nimble jump into *Tiber*, and ſo periſht, ſhewing that kindneſs to the friendſhip of one perſon by his voluntary death, which *Horatius Coeles*, in the ſame place, had ſhewn to his whole Country. What renowned Souldiers might the *Gracchi* have had, would they have followed the courſes which their Fathers or Mothers Father had done? With what a couragious fury might *Bloſius*, *Pomponius* and *Lætorius* have aſſiſted them in the gaining Trophies and Triumphs, the ſtout Aſſociates of ſuch furious enterprizes! and taking part with an inauſpicious friendſhip: but by how much the more miſerable, by ſo much are they the more certain examples of a generous fidelity.

3. But *L. Rheginus*, if you examine him as to his ſincerity due to the publick, was much to be blam'd by Poſterity; If you look upon the faithful pledg of his fidelity, we are to leave him in the ſafe harbour of an applauded Conſcience. Who when *Cæpio* Tribune of the people was thrown into Priſon, by reaſon that through his fault our Army was defeated by the *Cimbrians* and *Teutons*, remembring the ancient friendſhip between them, ſet him at liberty; and not content to have ſhewn himſelf ſo much a friend, accompanied him alſo in his flight. O great and moſt invincible *Numen* friendſhip; when the Common-wealth had ſeiz'd with one hand, to pull him out of the other with thy own arm! and when ſhe requires thee to be real, thou confin'ſt thy ſelf to baniſhment. So gentle is thy Dominion, to make men prefer puniſhment before honour.

4. Wonderful was this thy work, but more praiſeworthy that which follows. For call to mind, how thou haſt celebrated the conſtant love of *T. Volumnius* to his friend without any dammage to the Common-wealth;

wealth; who being by deſcent of the order of Knighthood, and having an entire kindneſs for *M. Lucullus*, whom *M. Antony* ſlew for taking part with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, having full Liberty to fly, he ſtuck cloſe to his dead friend; giving himſelf ſo much over to tears and Lamentations, that by his extream Devotion to his friend, he was the cauſe of his own death. For by reaſon of his continued and conſtant ſorrow, he was carried before *Antony*: and ſtanding before him, *Command me*, ſaid he, *O Emperour, to be carried back to the body of* Lucullus, *and there ſlain. For he being dead, I ought not to ſtay behind, being my ſelf the Author of his unhappy going to war.* What more faithful than ſo much love? He ſought to eaſe his ſorrow for his friends death, by the hatred of his Enemy; to render him more miſerable, making himſelf more envy'd. Nor were *Antonies* Ears ſhut: for being led where he deſired, having kiſs'd the dead body of *Lucullus*, and embrac'd his ſever'd head, being lifted up to his breaſt, he laid down his own neck to receive the Victors blow. Let *Greece* now boaſt of *Theſeus* yielding to the unlawful love of *Pirithous*, and for his ſake entring into the Dominions of Father *Dis*. They are vain that relate it, fools that believe it. To ſee the mingled blood of friends, wounds ſticking upon wounds; and death ſticking upon death, theſe are the true ſigns of *Roman* friendſhip; thoſe, the ſtories of a people accuſtomed to fain ridiculous wonders.

5. *L. Petronius* alſo claims to be a partaker in this praiſe. He by the favour of *Cælius*, being of a very mean Extraction, came to be advanc'd into the order of Knights, and had very conſiderable military imployments beſide. For which, becauſe he could not pay his thanks when *Cælius* was in proſperity, he ſhew'd himſelf nobly grateful to him in his adverſity. *Cælius* was made Governour of *Placentia*, by *Octavius* the

Consul: Who after the Town was taken by *Cinna*'s Army, being old and sickly, and fearing to fall into the hands of the Enemy, resolved to dye by *Petronius*'s hand; who finding that he could by no perswasions change his resolution, according to his desire kill'd him first, and then joyned his own death to his; that he might not supervive him, by whom he had attained to all his Honour. So that Magnanimity occasioned the Death of the one, Piety the Fall of the other.

6. We are to joyn *Ser. Terentius* with *Petronius*, though it fell out that he did not dye for his friend, as was his desire. For a noble Intention is not to be valued by the issueless Event. For he was slain as much as in him lay, and *Brutus* escaped the danger; who flying from *Mutina*, and receiving intelligence of certain Souldiers sent by *Antonius* to kill him, endeavoured in a certain place, by the benefit of the Night, to steal that Life of his which deserv'd just Punishment. There *Terentius* assaying to break through with a faithful Lye, favoured by Darkness it self, feigned himself to be *Brutus*, offering his Body to the fury of the Souldiers. But being known by *Furius*, whose charge it was to execute the office of revenge, he could not hinder the punishment of his friend by his own death. So that against his will he was compell'd by fortune to live.

7. From this dreadful and horrid face of Friendship, let us digress to the more serene and placid countenance of Affection. And having brought it forth where all things are full of Tears, Lamentation and Slaughter, let us place it in the Palace of Prosperity, shining with Beauty, Honour, and abounding Wealth. Come forth therefore from those Seats that are believed to be consecrated to the Shades of the Blessed, here *Decimus Lelius*, there *M. Agrippa*, having wisely and prosperously chosen the one the greatest Friend

Friend of the Gods, the other of Men; and bring along with thee the whole Society, which under your Conduct, laden with Praiſes and Rewards, receive the venerable Stipends of ſincere Fidelity: For ſucceeding Ages beholding your conſtant Minds, your ſtout Enterpriſes, your inexpugnable Taciturnity, your diligent and watchful care for the dignity and ſafety of your Friends, the publick teſtimonies of your mutual Love; and laſtly, the moſt plentiful fruits thereof, the more willingly, the more religiouſly ſhall be buſied in exerciſing and admiring the Laws of Friendſhip.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. My deſire is to continue ſtill in the Examples of my Native Countrey, but the candor of the *Roman* City admoniſhes me to relate the Gallantry of other Nations. *Damon* and *Pythias*, inſtructed in the ſacred Secrets of *Pythagorean* Prudence, had contracted ſuch a faithful Friendſhip between themſelves, that when *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſe* would have put one of them to Death, and that he that was to ſuffer had got leave to go home to his houſe, to ſettle his affairs, the other was not afraid to be Surety to the Tyrant for his return. So that now he was free from the peril of Death, that had his Neck but now under the Axe; and he is now in danger, that was free before. And therefore all people waited the event of an accident ſo new and rare. The day prefix'd being come, and the party not returning; and therefore every one condemning him of folly, that had ſo raſhly undertaken for the other; though he remain'd certain of the Fidelity of his Friend: At the very Hour and Moment which *Dionyſius* prefixed, the other appeared. The Tyrant admiring the Courage of both, gave a full

pardon to ſo much Fidelity; farther deſiring them to receive him into the Society of their Friendſhip, promiſing a moſt ſtrict obſervance thereof. Such is the power of Friendſhip, to beget contempt of Death, take away the ſweet deſire of Life, tame Cruelty, turn Hatred into Love, and to reward Puniſhment with Kindneſs: to which there is almoſt as much worſhip due, as to the Ceremonies of the Gods. For they are the Links of publick, this of private Safety. And as the Temples of the Gods are ſacred Houſes, ſo the faithful Breaſts of men are Temples fill'd with a certain holy Spirit.

2. Which King *Alexander* certainly believed to be a truth. Who being poſſeſs'd of the Camp of *Darius*, where all his Relations and Kindred were, he came with *Epheſtion* moſt of all belov'd by him covering his ſide, to ſpeak to them. At whoſe approach the Mother of *Darius* taking heart, liſting up her Head as ſhe lay proſtrate upon the ground, ſaluted *Epheſtion*, flattering after the manner of the *Perſians*, miſtaking him for *Alexander*, becauſe he was more amiable for his Stature and Beauty. But being made ſenſible of her errour, in great fear ſhe ſought for words to excuſe it. *There is no reaſon*, replyed *Alexander*, *to be troubled for this, for this is another* Alexander *alſo.* Whom ſhall we congratulate? him that ſaid it, or him that heard it? While the King endued with a great Soul, having already graſp'd the whole World, either by his Victories, or in his thoughts, in ſo few words made ſo equal a diviſion of it to his Companion. O the Gift of a Royal Tongue, as fair to the Receiver as to the Giver! Which I reverence as a private man, having had the experience of the Bounty of a moſt wiſe and renowned perſon toward my ſelf. And I do not doubt but it may become me to think my *Pompey* to be like *Alexander*; while he will have his

his *Epheſtion* to be another *Alexander*. And therefore I ſhould be lyable to a very great errour, to paſs over the Example of conſtant and kind Friendſhip, without any mention of him: in whoſe minde, as in the breaſt of moſt loving Parents, my proſperous condition of Life hath flouriſh'd, my Misfortunes have remain'd contented. From whom I have received all increaſe of profit freely offer'd; by whom I have ſtood more firmly againſt miſhap; who by his own proſperous Conduct and good Omens, hath render'd our Studies more pleaſant and delightful. And therefore I fed the envy of ſome with the loſs of my beſt friend, dividing my kindneſs, ſuch as it was, to ſome that knew not how to make uſe of it. But there is no Proſperity ſo modeſt, that can eſcape the teeth of Envy. But in what retirement are ſome to be avoided, with what allurements of kindneſs canſt thou reſtrain their inveteracy? There is no remedy but they will rejoyce and be tickled at the misfortunes of others, as well as at their own good. They are rich in the Loſſes, wealthy in the Calamities, immortal in the Death of other men. But while they inſult over the miſeries of others, unexperienced in their own, let them have a care of the beſt revenger of their Inſolency, the Variety of Human Condition.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Liberality.

1. Q. Fabius Maximus.
2. Paula Busa *of* Canusium.
3. Q. Considius *a* Roman *Knight.*
4. *The People of* Rome *to King* Attalus.
5. *The People of* Rome *to the* Greeks.

FORRAIGN.

1. Hiero *King of* Sicily *to the* Romans.
2. Gillias *of* Agrigentum *to his fellow-Citizens.*

LEt us recal our work, that had straid in a pious Digression, in exposing our own discontents, to its former course, and now take *Liberality* into consideration; which hath two probable Fountains, true Judgment, and honest Benevolence. For when it springs from these, then only is it duely founded: A Gift being acceptable for its greatness, but somewhat more efficacious, when it is seasonable.

1. Beyond the price of the thing, we find a most inestimable moment of an opportunity, which with the expence of a small sum of Money rendr'd *Fabius Maximus* highly applauded so many Ages since. He had received the Captives from *Hannibal*, upon a Contract for so much Money. Which when the Senate would not stand to, sending his Son to the City, he sold the only Farm which he had in the world, and presently sent *Hannibal* the Money. If we consider the Sum, but small, as being the price but of seven Acres of Land, and those lying in *Pupinia*; but considering the Soul of the Giver, a most large sum, and far

far exceeding the Money. For he would rather want his Patrimony, than that his Countrey ſhould be poor in Credit. So much the more to be commended, as it is a more certain ſigne of a real meaning, to ſtretch beyond ability, rather than to do the ſame act out of ſuperfluity. For the one can do what he performs, the other more than he is able.

2. Therefore a Woman of the ſame time, *Buſa* by name, the richeſt in the Countrey of *Apulia*, won her ſelf an ample teſtimony of Liberality; though perhaps not ſo great, if we compare her flowing Riches to the Poverty of the *Fabians*. For though ſhe relieved about Ten Thouſand of our Citizens, the remains of the Battle of *Cannæ*, within the Walls of *Canuſium*, yet ſhe ſhewed her ſelf munificent to the *Romans*, without prejudice to her Eſtate. But *Fabius* for the good of his Countrey exchang'd Poverty for Want.

3. We finde alſo in *Quinctius Conſidius* a moſt wholeſome Example of Liberality, not without ſome profit to himſelf. Who when the Fury of *Catiline* had put all the Commonwealth into ſuch a tumult, that the Rich themſelves, the Rents of Poſſeſſions falling, were not able to pay their Creditors; he having the Sum of one Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Seſterces at uſe, would not ſuffer any of his Debtors to be call'd upon, either for Principal or Intereſt: and as much as in him lay, ſweetned the bitterneſs of publick Confuſion by his own private Quiet: opportunely teſtifying, that he made profit only of his Money, not of Civil Blood. Now they who act with rigour in buſineſs of this nature, when they carry bloody Money home, may hence learn to know, with what an accurſed and impious joy they rejoyce, if they do not loath to read the Decree of the Senate, which gave *Conſidius* publick thanks.

4. Methinks the People of *Rome* ſeem to complain of me, that while I am reporting the Munificence of particular perſons, I am ſilent of theirs: For it redounds to their great praiſe, that it ſhould be reported, what noble minds they have born to Kings, Cities and Countries: For the glory of all renowned acts flouriſhes and revives by often rehearſal. After they had conquer'd *Aſia*, they gave it as a Gift to King *Attalus* to poſſeſs; believing the future Empire of our City would be more high and ſplendid, if they ſhould lay up the richeſt part of the World, rather in the Treaſury of their Gratitude than Profit. A Gift more happy than the Victory it ſelf. For to have poſſeſs'd much, might procure Envy; to have given away ſo much, could never want a glorious eſteem.

5. It is impoſſible to praiſe ſufficiently in writing the divine ſpirit of the *Roman* People. For after *Philip* King of *Macedon* was vanquiſh'd, when all *Greece* flock'd to behold the *Iſthmian* Games, *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, having caus'd ſilence to be made by ſound of Trumpet, commanded a Crier to proclaim theſe words: **The Senate and People of** Rome, **and** Q. Flaminius **their General, command all the Cities of** Greece, **that were under the Juriſdiction of King** Philip, **to be free.** Which being heard, the People were at firſt ſtruck with a ſudden unexpected joy, and, not believing what they had heard, were for a while ſilent. But upon the ſecond Proclamation of the Crier, they fill'd the Skie with ſuch a chearful din, that it is certainly reported, that the Birds, which at that inſtant were flying that way, fell down amaz'd and terrifi'd with the noiſe. They had great Souls, to take off the yoke of Servitude from the necks of ſo many Captives, and to give Liberty to ſo many noble and opulent Cities. To whoſe Majeſty it belongs, that not onely what they freely give, but

alſo

alſo their giving of it, be memorably eterniz'd. There being the celebration of gain'd applauſe, here of applauſe repeated.

FORRAIGN.

1. *Hiero*, King of *Syracuſe*, hearing of the overthrow which the *Romans* receiv'd at the Lake of *Thraſymene*, ſent to *Rome* three hundred thouſand Buſhels of Wheat, two hundred thouſand Buſhels of Barley, and two hundred and fourty Pound weight of Gold: And not being ignorant of the Modeſty of the *Romans* in receiving ſuch Gifts, he made as if he had preſented them a Congratulation of Victory, that he might compel them, moved by Religion, to accept of his Munificence. Liberal firſt in his ready will to ſend, and prudent in taking care that it ſhould not be ſent back.

2. I will adde to him *Gillius* of *Agrigentum*, who may be thought to have had the very bowels of Liberality. He was potent in Wealth, but more wealthy in the Generoſity of his Mind than in his Riches; and always more buſily employed in ſpending and finding waies to beſtow, than in getting Money. So that his Houſe ſeem'd to be a kind of Shop of Magnificence. For there all Monuments fit for Publick Uſe were erected, there all Plays were ſet out for the delight of the People, there were all preparations for Feaſting, and thence the ſcarcity of Corn was ſupplied. This to the generality; privately the Sick were reliev'd, Portions given to poor Maids, and comfortable Supplies to them that were broken by Misfortune; Gueſts and Strangers courteouſly received both in City and Countrey, and liberally preſented at their departure. One time, among the reſt, he fed and clad Five Hundred *Gelenſian* Horſemen, who were by Tempeſt forced

ced upon his Territories. What more? You would have said he had no Mortal Bosome, but the very Breasts of propitious Fortune herself. For what *Gillias* possess'd, seemed to be the common Patrimony of all Men. For whose Prosperity and increase of Wealth, not only the City of *Agrigentum*, but all the neighbouring Regions continually praid. Place on the other side the Chests of some shut up with Locks, inexorable to all Pity; do you not think this expense far more laudable, than that wary Parsimony?

LIB.

LIB. V.

CHAP. I.

Of Humanity and Clemency.

ROMANS.

1. *The* Roman *Senate.*
2. L. Cornelius Scipio, *Coſ.*
3. T. Quinctius Criſpinus.
4. M. Claudius Marcellus, *Procoſ.*
5. Q. Metellus Macedonicus, *Proconſul.*
6. P. Scipio Æmilianus.
7. *The Elder* Africanus, *Procoſ.*
8. L. Æmilius Paulus *Coſ.* 2.
9. Cn. Pompey *the Great*, *Procoſ.*
10. Julius Cæſar, *Coſ.* 2.
11. Mark Antony, *Triumvir.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Alexander *the Great.*
2. Piſiſtratus *the* Athenian
3. Pyrrhus *King of* Epirus.
4. Antigonus *King of* Macedon.
5. *The* Campanians.
6. Hannibal *the* Carthaginian.

WHat better Companions could I have found out for Liberality, than Humanity and Clemency! The firſt of which ſhews it ſelf in want, the ſecond in buſineſs, the third in doubtful Fortune. Now when we know not which to eſteem beſt, yet the commendation of that ſeems to crave precedency, which takes its denomination from the Godhead it ſelf.

1. I will begin with the moſt humane and merciful Acts of the Senate. Who when the Embaſſadors of the *Carthaginians* came to the City about the Redemption

ption of Captives, immediately without receiving their Money, reſtor'd them above two thouſand ſeven hundred and fourty young men. I may well think that the Ambaſſadours themſelves were amazed to ſee ſuch an Army of Enemies ſet at Liberty, ſo much Money deſpiſed, and ſo many *Carthaginian* Injuries forgiven, and that they thus ſaid to themſelves, O Munificence equal to the favour of the Gods of the *Romans*! and happy our Embaſſie beyond our wiſhes, For we have received a kindneſs which we never deſerved. Nor was this a ſmaller teſtimony of the Senate, who when *Syphax*, formerly a moſt opulent King of *Numidia*, their Captive, was dead in the Priſon of *Tibur*, order'd him to be interr'd at the Publick Expence; that to whom they had given Life, they might alſo adde the honour of Burial. The ſame Clemency they us'd toward *Perſeus*, who dying at *Alba* where he was kept in ſafe cuſtody, ſent down a Queſtor to bury him at the Publick Charge, not permitting his Royal Reliques to lye diſhonour'd. Theſe things they perform'd to Enemies and Captives after their Death. The next were their Favours ſhewn to their Friends in proſperity and living. After the end of the *Macedonian* War, *Muſicrates*, *Maſſiniſſa*'s Son, being ſent back to *Paulus*, with thoſe Horſemen which which he had brought to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* to his Father, his Fleet being ſcatter'd by Tempeſt, and himſelf putting in ſick at *Brunduſium*: The Senate no ſooner had news thereof, but they ſent a Queſtor thither, not only to defray the Expences of him and his Retinue, but alſo to take care for the providing all things neceſſary for the reſtoration of his Health: and that they might not want Ships to carry them ſafe and well into *Africa*, they ordered to be given to each Horſeman a Pound weight of Silver, and to every Footman five Hundred Seſterces. Which ſo

ready

ready and compleat Humanity of the Conſcript Fathers, might perhaps have ſo far prevail'd upon *Maſſiniſſa*, that had his Son died in the Expedition, he had the leſs grieved for it. The ſame Senate, when they heard that *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* was come to congratulate their Victory over *Perſeus*, ſent *Cornelius Scipio*, then Queſtor, to meet him as far as *Capua*: and ordered that the beſt Houſe in *Rome* ſhould be hired for him; and that he and his Retinue ſhould be entertain'd at the Publick Charge. And indeed in the reception of that great King, the whole City ſeem'd to have the countenance but of one entire Friend. So that he, who came an entire friend to our City, returnd with a double affection for us. Neither was *Egypt* ignorant of the *Roman* Clemency: For King *Ptolomy* being thrown out of his Kingdom by his younger Brother, and coming to *Rome* with a ſmall Attendance, and in a mean Habit, to crave aid of the Senate, took a Lodging in the houſe of an *Alexandrian* Painter. Which when the Senate underſtood, ſending for the Young man, they made a very great excuſe, for not having ſent the Queſtor to meet him after the antient Cuſtome, and for not providing entertainment for him; as not happening through their negligence, but through his ſuddain and private Entry. After which they accompanied him to a publick Houſe, deſiring him to lay by his mean Habit, and fix them a day to wait on him. They alſo took care to ſend him Gifts by the Queſtor every day; and by theſe degrees of kindneſs advanced him from Expulſion to the Royal Throne. So that he had more hope in the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* People, than fear of his own Misfortune.

2. To come now from the Conſcript Fathers in general to particular Senators; *Lucius Cornelius* the Conſul in the firſt *Punic* War, when he had taken the City *Olbia*,

Olbia, for the relief of which *Anno* Captain of the *Carthaginians* valiantly fighting was ſlain, buried his Body out of his own Tent, beſtowing a noble Funeral upon it. Nor was he aſham'd to appear at the Exequies of an Enemy, believing that his Victory would be the leſs envied both by Gods and Men, when there was ſo much of Humanity mix'd with it.

3. What ſhall I ſay of *Quinctius Criſpinus*, whoſe Gentleneſs and mild Diſpoſition, the potent Affections of Anger and Glory could not diſturb? He had entertain'd with great civility *Badius* of *Campania* at his houſe, and with great care recovered him from a dangerous Sickneſs: Who after the revolt of the *Campanians*, provoking *Criſpinus* to fight with him at the head of the Army; *Criſpinus*, who knew himſelf to be above him both in Strength and Courage, choſe rather to give him good councel than to overcome him. *What doſt thou go about to do, Madman*, ſaid he? *Or whither do thy fooliſh deſires carry thee? Muſt thou needs rage with a publick Impiety, that art fallen from private Charity? Couldſt thou finde none among all the* Romans, *upon whom to exerciſe thy villanous arms, but only* Quinctius, *to whoſe Houſhold-gods thou oweſt both a return of honour and ſafety? The League of Friendſhip and our Hoſpitable Gods, with us ſacred Pledges, though with you of no accompt, will not ſuffer me to combat with thee. Nay, if in the ſhock of both Armies, I ſhould have known thee overturned by the force of my Buckler, I would have recalled my Sword from thy Neck. And therefore it is thy crime, that thou didſt intend to kill a Gueſt; but the Death of a Gueſt ſhall not be mine. And therefore ſeek out ſome body elſe for the courage of thy right hand, for mine has learnt to ſave.* But Heaven gave to both a deſerved Iſſue; for *Badius* was ſlain in the fight, *Quinctius* valiantly fighting came ſafe off with honour.

4. And

4. And now the Clemency of *M. Marcellus*, how famous and how memorable an Example ought we to accompt it? Who after he had taken *Syracuſe*, from the Caſtle took a view of the City below, once flouriſhing, now almoſt ruin'd in Miſery: he beholding the miſerable ſtate thereof, could not refrain from Tears. So that if ſome perſon that knew him not had beheld him, he might have been thought the Looſer, not the Victor. This conſolation hadſt thou in thy calamity, fair City, that though it was not lawful for thee to ſtand ſafe, yet thy fall was gentle under ſuch a Conquerour.

5. *Quintus Metellus* warring in *Spain* againſt the *Celtiberians*, lying at the Siege of *Centobricum*, when the Engine was fix'd, and he was juſt ready to beat down that part of the Wall which was fitteſt to be batter'd, preferr'd Clemency before an approaching Victory. For when the *Centobricenſes* had oppoſed the Sons of *Rhetogenes*, who had fled to him, againſt all the ſhot of the Engine, leſt the Children ſhould be cruelly kill'd in the ſight of their Father (though *Rhetogenes* himſelf bid him not fear to go on with his Battery for all that) he rais'd his Siege. By which act of Clemency, though he took not one City, yet he took the hearts of all the *Celtiberians*, and thereby ſo far prevailed, as not to want many Hoſtages to keep them faithful to the *Roman* people.

6. Splendidly alſo did the Humanity of the Elder *African* appear, who having taken the City of *Carthage*, ſent to all the Cities of *Sicily*, to fetch the Ornaments of their Temples, which the *Carthaginians* had taken from them, and to take care to reſtore them to their proper places. A Kindneſs acceptable both to Gods and Men.

7. Equal to this was the Humanity of his Grandfather. His Queſtor ſelling the Captives *at the Spear*, ſent

ſent him a Boy of a very excelling Beauty, and very well habited; whom when he underſtood to be left an Orphan by his Father, and educated under the tuition of his Uncle *Maſſaniſa*, and that without his leave he had immaturely taken Arms againſt the *Romans*; he not only thought it convenient to pardon the errour of the Youth, but to give that reſpect which was due to the Friendſhip of a Prince ſo deſerving of the *Roman* People. And therefore having beſtowed a Ring, a Gold Button, and a broad emboſs'd Tunick, a *Spaniſh* Jacket, and a Horſe with all Furniture upon him, he ſent him to *Maſſaniſa* with a Convoy to attend him. The *Romans* believing theſe to be the greateſt fruits of Victory, to reſtore the Temples their Ornaments, and Kings their Kindred.

8. Nor is the Memory of *L. Paulus* to be forgot, who when he heard that *Perſeus*, a Captive now, before a King, was brought before him, went to meet him in all the Ornaments of a *Roman* General, and with his right hand rais'd up the King, endeavouring to caſt himſelf at his feet, and in the *Greek* tongue bid him be of good chear; and bringing him into his Tent, caus'd him to ſit next him in Council, not thinking him below the honour of his Table. Range the Army in view, which conquer'd *Perſeus*, and the Story which I have related, it may be doubted which ſight would be moſt delectable. For though it be a renowned thing to overcome an Enemy, yet is it no leſs praiſe-worthy to take compaſſion of him in miſery.

9. This Humanity of *L. Paulus* teaches me not to forget the Clemency of *Cn. Pompey*: Who having overthrown *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who not only made cruel Wars with the *Romans* himſelf, but alſo protected *Mithridates*, a moſt inveterate Enemy to our City, would not ſuffer him to lye proſtrate at his feet;

feet; but giving him words of comfort, caus'd him to put the Diadem, which he had caſt away, upon his Head again. And having laid certain commands upon him, reſtor'd him to his former Dignity.

10. How noble an Example of Clemency afforded was *Cn. Pompey*, how miſerable an Example of Pity deſired! For he that had impal'd the Brows of *Tigranes* with Regal Ornaments, his Head diſpoyl'd of Three Triumphal Crowns, could not finde a Burial-place in that, which was but now, his own world: But cut from his Body, wanting a Funeral Pile, was preſented as a Gift of *Egyptian* Perfidie, lamentable in the very eyes of the Victor. For aſſoon as *Cæſar* beheld it, forgetful of his Enemy, he put on the Countenance of a Father-in-law; and then, as became himſelf, he caus'd the Head of *Pompey* to be burnt with moſt pretious Odours, and paid his Tears to the memory of him and his Daughter. For if the mind of that divine Prince had not been ſo tender, He that a little before was accompted the Pillar of the *Roman* Empire (ſo Fortune turns the ſcales of Humane Affairs) had lain uninterr'd. *Cæſar* alſo hearing of the Death of *Cato*, was heard to ſay, *That he envied* Cato's *glory*, *as* Cato *had envied his*; giving his Eſtate ſafe and whole to his Children. And certainly it would have been no ſmall part of *Cæſar*'s divine endeavours, to have been the ſafety of *Cato*.

11. And certainly the Soul of *Mark Antonie* did not want the knowledg of equal Humanity. For he gave the Body of *Mar. Brutus* to his Freeman to bury. And that he might be the more honourably burnt, cauſed him to be covered with his own Imperial Robe; believing him as he lay, not an Enemy, but a Citizen, all hatred now forgotten. And when he underſtood the Freeman had taken away the Imperial Garment, in great anger he commanded him to be puniſhed, uſing

first this Speech; *Didst thou not know*, said he, *the Funeral of how great a man I committed to thy charge?* His stout and pious Victory at *Philippi* the Gods willingly beheld, nor could they stop their ears at these words of generous Indignation.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. From commemorating *Roman* Examples, being carried into *Macedon*, I am compell'd to set forth the Manners of *Alexander*. Whose Fortitude in War, as it deserved infinite renown, so his Clemency merited high respect and love. He, while he visits all Nations with an indefatigable swiftness, being overtaken at a certain place with a storm of Snow, observ'd a *Macedonian* Souldier, decrepit with age, almost nummed with Cold, himself sitting in a high Chair near the fire. Who therefore considering not the quality, but the age of both, descends from his seat, and with those hands with which he had subdued the wealth of *Darius*, takes the benummed Souldier and leads him to his own seat, saying, *That that would be wholesome to him, which was Capital among the* Persians, *to sit in the Kings Chair.* What wonder then if they thought it a pleasure to serve such a Captain so many years, to whom the safety of a Common Souldier was more dear than the grandeur of his own Person? The same Personage also yielding not to any Mortal, but to Nature and Fortune, though faint with the violence of his distemper, yet leaning upon his Elbow, he reacht out his right Hand to all that would take their leaves of him. Who would not run to embrace that hand, which now oppress by Fate, sufficed to embrace an Army, with an Humanity as vivacious as his Courage?

2. Humanity is of no robust nature, yet we may declare

declare the Clemency of *Pisistratus*, Tyrant of *Athens*. Who when a Youngman inflamed with the Love of his Daughter, meeting her in the Street, kist her; and being therefore desired by his Wife to punish him, made answer, *If we punish those that love us, what must we do to those that hate us?* A worthy Saying; to which we must adde, that it came out of the mouth of a Tyrant.

Thus he took the affront offered his Daughter; thus the injury done to himself more commendably. For being incessantly taunted and reviled by his friend *Thrasippus* at Table, he so restrained his anger and his tongue, as if he had been one of the Guard reviled by the Tyrant: and as he went away, thinking he had retired sooner than ordinary for fear, he kindly invited him to stay. *Thrasippus* being in the heat of his drink, spit all in his face, and yet he could not move him to revenge. He pull'd away his Sons also, desiring to intercede for the abuses of him that was their Father. The next morning when *Thrasippus* intended to punish himself with a violent death, the Tyrant came to him, and giving him his faith that he should still remain in the same degree of favour with him, kept him from the execution of his purpose. Had he done nothing else worthy of honour or memory, yet by these very acts of his he had sufficiently recommended himself to Posterity.

3. Patient and gentle also was the mind of King *Pyrrhus*, Who hearing that some of the *Tarentines* at a great Feast had spoken largely in his disgrace, he call'd for those that were present, and demanded of them, if they had spoken those things which he had been told. Whereupon one of them made answer, *If our Wine had not fail'd us, those things which we spoke of thee, would have been but baubles and trifles, to what we should have said.* This so pleasant excuse of

their Drunkenneſs, and ſimple confeſſion of the truth, turn'd the Kings Anger into laughter; by which Clemency of his he ſo far prevailed, that the ſober *Tarentines* gave him thanks, and thoſe that had been drunk wiſh'd him well. The ſame height of Humanity cauſed him to ſend *Mico* with a Convoy for the greater ſafety of the *Roman* Ambaſſadours, whom he heard were coming toward him for the redemption of Captives. And for their more honourable reception, he himſelf with a Body of Horſe richly attired went out of the Camp to meet them. Not ſo much corrupted with the ſucceſs of Proſperity, as to hinder all proſpect of reſpect from them with whom he was at greateſt Enmity.

4. Of which mild temper he received the due reward at the laſt hour of his death. For when he had invaded the City of *Argos* with moſt diſmal Omens, and that *Alcyoneus* the Son of King *Antigonus* had brought his head cut off, with great joy, as a moſt happy act of Victory to his Father, labouring in the defence of the City; *Antigonus* rebuking his Son for inſulting over the ruine of ſo great a man, forgetful of humane Calamity, took up his Head from the ground, and cover'd it with the Hood wherewith his own head was cover'd, after the manner of the *Macedonians*, and cauſed it, being return'd to the body, to be honourably burnt. And when his Son *Helenus* was brought a priſoner to him, he commanded him to bear a Royal Minde, and to continue his Regal Habit, and moreover gave him the bones of *Pyrrhus*, incloſed in a Golden Cheſt, to carry into his Countrey of *Epirus* to his Brother *Alexander*.

5. The *Campanians* alſo, when our Army was compell'd by the *Samnites* to paſs under Gallowſes at *Caudium*, entring their City not only unarmed but naked, received them as kindly as if they had enter'd

in

in Triumph, bearing the Spoils of their enemies before them. Immediately presenting the Consul with all the Ensignes of his Honour, and bestowing upon the Souldiers Cloaths, Arms, Horses and Provision, taking away the want and deformity of the *Roman* overthrow. Had they been as constant against *Hannibal* for the *Roman* Empire, they had not given an occasion for the rage of the cruel Axes.

6. Having made mention of a most bitter Enemy, with those actions of kindness which he performed to the *Romans*, I shall make an end of the subject in hand. For *Hannibal* having sought the body of *Æmilius Paulus* slain at *Cannæ*, with all diligence, as much as in him lay, would not permit it to lye unburied. He also caused the body of *T. Gracchus*, who fell unhappily into the ambushment of the *Lucans*, to be honourably buried, and deliver'd his bones, to be carried into his own Countrey, to our Souldiers. When *Marcellus* was slain in the Countrey of the *Brutii*, while with more eagerness than consideration he endeavoured to spy the actions of the *Carthaginians*, he sought him out, and laid him upon the Funeral Pile, clad in a *Carthaginian* Jacket, and adorn'd with a Crown of Gold. And therefore the sweetness of Humanity penetrates into the very breasts of rude Barbarians, mollifies the cruel and severe eyes of Enemies, and bends the most insolent pride of Victory. Nor is it a difficult thing for Clemency to finde an easie passage through hostile Weapons, and Swords drawn hand to hand. It overcomes Anger, throws down Rage, and mingles hostile Blood with hostile Tears. Which produced that admirable Speech of *Hannibal*, delivering his judgment at the Funerals of the *Roman* Captains. Wherefore *Paulus*, *Marcellus* and *Gracchus* brought him more honour by their Funerals, than by their Deaths. For he deceived them with his *Punic*

ſubtilty, but honoured them with his *Roman* Clemency. And you, brave and pious Souls, have enjoyed Obſequies not to be repented of; for as you fell more deſirably in your Countrey, more nobly for your Countrey; ſo ye recover'd the honour of that laſt office due to ye, which by misfortune ye had loſt.

CHAP. II.

Of Gratitude.

Among the ROMANS.

1. *The* Roman *Senate.*
2. *The* Roman *Youth.*
3. *The* Roman *People.*
4. M. Minutius Rufus *Maſter of the Horſe.*
5. Q. Terentius Culeo.
6. *Citizens redeem'd in* Greece.
7. Q. Metellus Pius *Coſ.*
8. Caius Marius *Coſ.* IV.
9. L. Sylla *Dictator.*
10. *The* Libitines.

Of Forreign Kings.

1. Darius *of* Perſia.
2. Mithridates *of* Pontus.
3. Attalus *of* Aſia.
4. Maſſaniſa *of* Numidia.

NExt let us take a view of the grateful and ingrateful effects and actions of the Minde, that Vertue and Vice may receive their due reward, from a due eſtimate of the value of either. However, becauſe they are diſtinguiſhed by contrary ends and deſignes, we alſo intend to ſeparate them in writing: And therefore let us begin with thoſe things, that rather deſerve praiſe than reprehenſion.

1. And that we may take our riſe from publick Acts, let us take into our conſideration *Marcius Coriolanus*, who invading his own Country, and having brought

brought a very great Army of the *Volſci* to the very Gates of the City, threatning the utter deſtruction of the *Roman* Empire; yet at the interceſſion of his Mother *Veturia*, and his Wife *Volumnia*, he was perſwaded to give over his violent Enterpriſe. In memory whereof the Senate gave very great Priviledges to the *Order of Matrons*. For they order'd that men ſhould give the upper hand to Women in the ſtreet, as acknowledging the Womens Garment to have been a greater ſafety to their City than their Arms: They added alſo a new diſtinction of Coifs to the adornments of their Ears; they alſo permitted them to wear Purple and Gold Laces; and more then all this, they erected a Temple and an Altar to Womens Fortune, juſt in the ſame place where *Coriolanus*'s wrath was appeaſed, to teſtifie their grateful acknowledgment of ſo great a benefit, by their religious reſpect and reverence that they had of it.

For which the Senate was no leſs famous at the time of the Second *Punic* War: For when *Capua* was beſieged by *Fulvius*, there were two Women in the Town that would by no means be perſwaded from ſhewing eminent ſignes of good Will toward the *Romans*; the one named *Veſtia Opidia* the Miſtriſs of a good Family, the other *Cluvia Facula* an Harlot; one which dayly ſacrificed for the ſucceſs of the *Roman* Army, the other ſtill ſupplied the neceſſities of the *Roman* Captives. The Town being taken, the Senate reſtor'd them both their Liberty and their Goods; and if they had any other Boon to crave, bid them freely demand it, for that they were as free to give it. It was more wonderful that the Senate had leiſure, in a time of ſo much Exultation, to return thanks to two mean Women, than that they took upon them to do it.

2. What more commendable than that of the *Ro-*

man Youth, who in the Conſulſhip of *C. Nantius* and *Minutius* liſted themſelves voluntarily to give aſſiſtance to the *Tuſculanes*, who were enter'd into the Territories of the *Æqui*, who had a little before moſt ſtoutly defended the *Roman* Empire. A new thing, to hear the whole Army liſting themſelves, leſt their Countrey ſhould ſeem to want a grateful mind.

3. A great Example of Gratitude was that of the People toward *Q. Fabius Maximus*: Who dying after he had born Five Conſulſhips, with great ſucceſs and advantage to the Commonwealth, ſtrove who ſhould bring in moſt Money to advance the ſplendour and magnificence of his Funeral. Let us prize the Reward of vertue, when we finde brave men to be more happy in their Burials, than the ſloathful in their Lives.

4. With no ſmall glory was another piece of Gratitude ſhewn to the other *Fabius*, yet living. For when *Minutius*, Maſter of the Horſe, was made equal in Commiſſion with him being Dictator, by an Act of the Senate, which was never done before, and dividing the Army had fought apart with *Hannibal* in *Samnium*; yet he ſeeing the great Overthrow he had like to have had by his own Raſhneſs, had not *Fabius* come in timely to his relief, he preſently acknowledged him for his Father, and commanded him to be ſaluted Patron and Preſerver by his own Legions; and laying down his Commiſſion of Equality, ſubmitted the Maſterſhip of the Horſe to the Dictatorſhip, as of right it ought to have been; correcting the impudent errour of the Vulgar, by the grateful ſignification of his Minde.

5. A Story to be related upon as good grounds, is, that *Terentius Culeo*, a Pretorian by Birth, and of the Senatorian Order, ſhould follow as he did the Triumphant Chariot of the Elder *Scipio*, with his Cap in his

his hand bare-headed, for that being a Captive to the *Carthaginians*, he had been retaken by him. And therefore he deſervedly return'd, in view of the whole people, the acknowledgment of a Benefit received from him, as from his Patron, who was the Author of his Liberty.

6. But when *Flaminius* triumph'd over *Philip*, there was not only one, but two thouſand *Roman* Citizens that followed his Chariot bare-headed; who having been taken in the *Punic* Wars, and being ſold into *Greece*, had been by his care collected together and reſtor'd to their former Freedome. The Honour of the General ſeem'd redoubled that day, who at the ſame time let the People ſee their Enemies by him overcome, their Fellow-Citizens by him preſerved: Alſo their preſervation was doubly acceptable to all, ſeeing that ſo many, and thoſe ſo grateful perſons, had recovered their deſerved Liberty.

7. *Metellus*, as famous for his Tears as others for their Victories, obtain'd the name of *Pious*, for his paſſionate and conſtant Love of his Father in Exilement: This man being Conſul, was not aſhamed to entreat the People on the behalf of *Q. Calidius*, Candidate for the Pretorſhip, becauſe that he being Tribune, was author of the Law by which his Father was recall'd. He always after call'd him alſo the Patron of his Houſe and Family. Nor did he thereby any way derogate from his greatneſs which he had obtain'd; ſeeing that it was not the Lowneſs of his Spirit, but the Gratefulneſs of his Minde, which made him ſubmit the grandeur of his Dignity to the greateſt deſert of an inferiour perſon.

8. And therefore the Gratitude of *C. Marius* was not only eminent, but ſeem'd to be the effect of a violent Paſſion: For obſerving two Cohorts of the *Camertians* to have bravely withſtood the Fury of the *Cimbrians*,

Cimbrians, contrary to the Condition of the League, he immediately made them free of the City. Which act of his he both truely and nobly excused, saying, *That in the noise and hurry of Battle, he could not hear the words of the Civil Law.* And indeed it was a time then, wherein there was more need to defend, than hear the Law.

9. *Sylla* in the Combat of Praise every where follows the footsteps of *Marius*. For being *Dictator*, he not only uncovered his Head to *Pompey* being a private person; but rising in his Chariot, did alight from his Horse. And this in the Publick Assembly he declared himself to have done willingly, remembring that the other when he was but two and twenty years of Age had taken his part, with his Fathers Army. There were many remarkable things in *Pompey*, but I know not whether any thing hapned to him more remarkable than this, that the surpluſage of his kindness caused *Sylla* at length to forget him.

10. And while we talk of Men in high Splendour, let there be some place for meaner Gratitude. For *Cornutus* the Pretor being commanded to bargain for the Funerals of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*; they who provided all Necessaries for Funerals, belonging to the Temple of *Libitina*, promised the use of their things and their attendance *gratis*; because they were slain fighting for their Countrey. And by their constant and earnest desire procured, that the ordering of the Funeral might be at the rate of *Sesterce* Money, though at their own charges. Whose praise, setting the Law aside, their condition rather augments than extenuates; seeing them the only contemners of gain, that lived by no other thing than gain.

FOR-

FORRAIGN *Examples.*

Let not their Aſhes take it ill, if Kings of Forraign Nations come next in order to be mentioned after this ſordid tribe, which either was not to be mentioned at all, or elſe to be placed in the laſt part of Domeſtick Examples. But ſince honeſt acts done by the meaneſt ought not to ſlip our Memory, while they obtain a diſtinct and proper place, they neither ſeem to be added to the one, nor preferr'd before the other.

1. *Darius* being yet a private perſon, was mightily taken with a ſhort Veſtment of *Syloſon* the *Samian*; and by his more curious viewing of it, caus'd *Syloſon* to give it him freely, who ſo much deſir'd it in his mind. But how great a value he put upon that ſmall Gift, he ſoon made known when he enjoyed the Empire, giving to *Syloſon* the whole City and Iſland of the *Samians* for his poſſeſſion. Not that he honour'd the price, but the opportunity and ſeaſon of the Gift; and rather conſider'd from whom the Gift came, than to whom it was given.

2. Magnificently grateful alſo was King *Mithridates*, who made an exchange of all his Priſoners taken from the Enemy, for one *Leonicus* a moſt ſtout preſerver of his own perſon from eminent danger, who was taken in a Sea-fight by the *Rhodians*: accompting it more noble to give his moſt bitter Enemies an advantage, than to be unmindful of one that had ſo well deſerved of him.

3. More liberal yet were the People of *Rome*, for they gave all *Aſia* for a Gift to King *Attalus*. Though *Attalus* was not behinde-hand in the Juſtice of his laſt Will and Teſtament, by which he return'd it to them all back again. So that the Munificence of the one, and the Gratitude of the other, cannot be ſet down

in

in ſo many words of praiſe, as the vaſt Cities given in friendſhip and religiouſly reſtor'd.

4. Nor can I tell whether the breaſt of *Maſſaniſa* were not in as high a meaſure replete with the pledges of Gratitude. For he by the benefit of *Scipio*'s and the *Roman* friendſhip being put into the poſſeſſion of a very large Kingdome, by a moſt conſtant and loyal Amity continued the memory of that noble Gift to the very end of his life, which he enjoyed to a very great age. Inſomuch that not only all *Africa*, but all other Nations knew him to be more faithful to the Family of the *Cornelii*, and the City of *Rome*, than to himſelf. He, though he were very hard put to it by the *Carthaginians*, and was hardly able to defend his own Kingdome, deliver'd to *Scipio Æmilianus*, Nephew to the other *Scipio*, the greateſt part of the *Numidian* Army, when he was ſent for into *Spain* to the aſſiſtance of *Lucullus*, preferring former benefits before the preſent danger. He now near his end, leaving great Riches and Fifty Sons behind him, beſought *M. V. Manlius*, then Proconſul in *Africa*, to ſend *Scipio Æmilianus* who then was under his command to him; believing he ſhould die more happy, could he but commit his laſt words and breath to his Embraces. But his death preventing the coming of *Scipio*, he gave in charge to his Wife and Children to acknowledge but one people in the world, the *Romans*; and but one Family among the *Romans*, that of the *Scipio*'s. That he left all entire to *Æmilianus*, giving him the ſole power of making a diviſion, and that whatever he ordained, they ſhould obſerve as inviolable, as if he had left it by Will. Thus died *Maſſaniſa*, having prolong'd his life through many and divers varieties of changes to the hundredth year. By theſe and ſuch other Examples, is well-doing increaſed and continued among men. Theſe are the Motives, theſe the Incentives,

for

for which we burn with a desire of well-deserving. And certainly these are the greatest and the most splendid sort of Riches, to be accompted opulent in bestowing Riches. The religious regard whereof since we have so far prosecuted, let us now shew how it has been contemn'd, that we may the better know the difference, which is most acceptable and laudable among men.

CHAP. III.

Of Ingratitude.

1. *The Senate of* Rome *to* Romulus.
2. *The People of* Rome *toward* Camillus *and others.*
3. *Of* Sextilius *toward* C. Cæsar *the Orator.*
4. *Of* Popilius *toward* M. Cicero.
5. *Of* Cn. Pompey *the Great toward* Cn. Carbo.

FORRAIGN *Examples.*

1. *Of the* Carthaginians *toward* Hannibal.
2. *Of the* Spartans *toward* Lycurgus.
3. *The* Athenians *to* Theseus.

1. THe Senate placed by the Parent of our City in the highest degree of Honour, yet miserably tore him in pieces in the Senate-House; and thought it no crime to take away his Life, who had given life to the *Roman* Empire. That rude and fierce Age contaminated with the Blood of their *Founder*, the known Piety of posterity cannot dissemble.

2. This ingrateful errour of a debauch'd minde shortly after caus'd the sad repentance of our City. *Camillus*,

Camillus, the moſt triumphant Enlarger, and the moſt certain Defender of the *Roman* Power, yet could not preſerve himſelf in his own City, whoſe ſafeguard he had eſtabliſh'd, encreas'd and enlarg'd. For being accuſed by *L. Apuleius* Tribune of the People, for having embezled the Spoils of the *Veientines*, he was by a hard, and as I may ſay Iron Sentence, condemn'd and ſent into Exilement. And at ſuch a time, when having loſt a moſt hopeful Son, he was rather to have been relieved with Comfort, than to have been laden with Calamities. But his Countrey unmindful of the extraordinary Merits of ſo great a Perſon, heap'd the affliction of Exilement upon the loſs of his Son. Poorly done, for Fifteen thouſand Pence (a pitiful Sum) to deprive themſelves of ſo great a Prince. The Elder *African*, when *Rome* was almoſt quite broken by the Arms of the *Carthaginians*, when ſhe lay bleeding to death, and bleeding out the very laſt drop, reſtored her again, and made her Miſtreſs of all *Africa*; in recompence whereof, his Countrey-men confined him to a poor Village near a ſtinking Lake; of which he ſeem'd to be ſenſible to his death, cauſing this Inſcription to be put upon his Tomb: *INGRATEFUL COUNTREY, THOU HAST NOT SO MUCH AS MY BONES.* What more unworthy the neceſſity which they put him to, what more juſt than his complaint, or more moderate than his revenge? He denied his aſhes to a City, which he had preſerved from being reduced to aſhes. Therefore was this revenge a greater unkindneſs to ungrateful *Rome*, than the violence which *Coriolanus* offer'd to it. For he onely affrighted *Rome*, this man made *Rome* aſhamed: not being willing, ſuch was his piety, to complain of their Severity, till after his Death. For, no queſtion, it was a kind of comfort to him, that his Brother had ſuffered the ſame before; who after he had overthrown

thrown *Antiochus*, and reduced *Asia* under the subjection of the People of *Rome*, was by the People accused of converting the publick Money to his own private use, and thrown into prison.

No less inferiour in Vertue was the Younger *Africanus*, nor yet more fortunate in his end. For after he had quite reduced to nothing two Cities, *Numantia* and *Carthage*, both threatning destruction to the *Roman* Empire, met with his murtherer at home, but not with one to revenge his death in all the *Forum*. Who can be ignorant that *Scipio Nasica* was as famous for Counsel, as the other two *Scipio*'s were for War? Who kept *T. Gracchus* from strangling the Commonwealth with his pestiferous hands; yet he, because of the low esteem which his Citizens had of his Virtue, under the specious pretence of an Embassie, went into a voluntary Exilement, as far as *Pergamus*, and there spent the remainder of his days, never sought after by his ungrateful Countrey.

I still keep in the same name, not having yet done with the complaints of the *Cornelian* Family. For *P. Lentulus*, a most famous Citizen and eminent Lover of his Countrey, after he had overthrown *C. Gracchus* in a pitched field in the Countrey of *Aventinum*, as a reward of that Victory, whereby he preserved the Laws, Peace and Liberty of his Countrey, was not permitted to live in the City, and therefore wearied with envy and slaunder, he begg'd a Lieutenancy of the Senate; and having made a set Speech, wherein he prayed to the Immortal Gods that his ingrateful Countrey might never have occasion to use him again, he went into *Sicily*, and there spent the remainder of his days.

3. But what Satyr can be sharp enough, what words severe enough to express the Ingratitude of *P. Sextilius*? who being defended and fairly brought off from an Accusation highly Criminal by *C. Cesar*, yet betrayed

trayed and delivered him up to the cruelty of his enemy, coming to his house for shelter in the time of *Cinna*'s proscription. Had his accuser implored the same kindness upon his knees, it had bin inhumane to have denied him. For those that injuries do cause us to hate, misery makes us to compassionate. But *Sextilius* betrayed not his Accuser, but his Protector, to the cut-throat hand of his most inveterate adversary: if for fear of death, unworthy of life; if for hope of reward, most worthy of death.

4. To repeat another Example of the same nature. *M. Cicero* had defended *C. Popilius Lenas* of the Countrey of *Picena*, with no less Care than Eloquence, when his Cause was very doubtful. This *Popilius* afterwards, being neither in word or deed injur'd by *Cicero*, of his own accord begg'd of *M. Antonius*, that he might be the person to be sent by him to cut his Throat in his Banishment; and having obtain'd that detestable Commission, away he flew over-joy'd to *Cajeta*; and that very person, I need not say who was the author of his dignity and safety, but also one who ought to have been respected by him to the utmost, that very person did he command patiently to lie down, and have his head struck off. And thus laden with the head of the *Roman* Eloquence, and the most famous right hand of Peace, he return'd with joy to the City, as if he had brought along with him the Spoils of some Enemy. Letters are too imperfect to set forth this Monster, seeing there is not another *Cicero* living to bewail his unhappy fate.

5. What shall I say of thee, Great *Pompey*, I know not: While I consider the vastness of thy great Fortune and Renown, that once orespread the Sea as well as the Land. But though we should be silent, the Death of *Cn. Carbo*, by whom thou wert protected in thy youth, when contesting in the *Forum* for thy estate,

eſtate, ſlain by thy command, will never be forgotten: by which ingrateful fact, thou didſt ſeem to ſtand more in awe of *Sylla*'s Power, than to conſult thine own Honour.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. But leſt other Cities ſhould inſult, after we have confeſs'd our own Infirmities; we finde that the *Carthaginians* had an intention to have kill'd or baniſh'd *Hannibal*, after that for their honour and for the enlargement of their Empire, he had ſlain ſo many of our Generals, and cut to pieces ſo many of our Armies; that had he but ſlain ſo many common Souldiers of his Enemies, it had won him renown ſufficient.

2. *Lacedæmon* never bred a greater or more profitable Citizen than *Lycurgus*; being a perſon that the *Pythian Apollo* did not diſdain to ſpeak to, when he conſulted the Oracle, and told him, He knew not whether he were to be accompted a Man or a God. Yet neither the Integrity of his Life, nor the conſtant Love which he bare his Countrey, nor all the wholeſome Laws which he had made, could preſerve him from the hatred of his Citizens. For ſometimes they threw ſtones at him in the Streets; they put out one of his Eyes, and at laſt utterly baniſh'd him out of his Countrey. What may we think of other Cities, when a City ſo famous as this for Conſtancy, Moderation and Gravity, proved ſo ungrateful againſt a Citizen ſo well deſerving?

3. Take *Theſeus* from *Athens*, and either there would have been no ſuch thing as *Athens*, or elſe not half ſo famous. For he reduced his ſcatter'd Countreymen into one City: and gave the ſhape and form of a City to a wild and clowniſh People before. When he was but a Youth, he queld the uſurping Tyran-

ny of *Minos*: He tam'd the boundless insolency of the *Thebans*: He assisted the Sons of *Hercules*; and whereever Enormity was grown headstrong and monstrous, he overcame it by his Vertue and his Power. Yet was he banished by the *Athenians*, and the Island *Scyros*, less than the Exile, became only famous for his Tomb. *Solon* also that made such wholesome Laws, and so famous withal, that had the *Athenians* used them still, they had been still the Lords of great Territories: Who took *Salamine* a strong Fortress that threatned their ruine, and was but a little distance from them: Who foresaw the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*, and was the first that durst advise the People to resist him by force of Arms; in his old age lived an Exile in *Cyprus*. Nor was it his hap to be buried in his own Countrey, of which he had so well deserved. The *Athenians* had dealt well by *Miltiades*, had they, after the Battle of *Marathon*, wherein he overcame the *Persians*, with their loss of three hundred thousand Men, sent him presently into Exile, and not kept him in prison till he died: Nay more than that, they would not suffer his Body to be buried, till *Cimon* his Son had surrender'd himself into the same place. A sad Inheritance for the Son of so great a Captain, who was himself afterwards one of the greatest Captains of that Age. *Aristides* also, who was the Rule of Justice all over *Greece*, and the greatest example of Continence that ever was, was commanded to depart his Countrey. Happy *Athens*, could they have found out any one that had been either a Good Man, or a Lover of his Countrey, after this man was gone, with whom Sanctity itself seem'd to go along! *Themistocles* was a notable example of all that had experience of the Ingratitude of their Countrey: For when he had setled *Athens* in Peace, and raised it to be the most famous, the most wealthy, the Mistris of all *Greece*, he found his Countrey-men so incens'd a-

gainst

gainſt him, that he was forc'd to flie to the mercy of *Xerxes*, whom he had ruin'd before. *Phocion*, who was endow'd with two qualities which are the beſt to appeaſe Wrath and Fury, I mean Eloquence and Integrity, was forced by the *Athenians* to fly his Countrey: and when he was dead, he was not permitted ſo much as one turf of *Athenian* land to cover his bones. Certainly then it muſt be lookt upon as a publick piece of Madneſs, by common conſent, to puniſh the greateſt Vertues as the greateſt Crimes: which not being to be any where endured, ought to have been more eſpecially exploded and abominated in *Athens*, where there is a Law againſt Ingratitude. And not without reaſon, becauſe he looſes and aboliſhes the commerce of doing and receiving Benefits, which is the ſupport of human Life, that neglects to return Kindneſs for Kindneſs. How ſeverely therefore are they to be reprehended, who having muſt juſt Laws, but being very wickedly enclined, rather chooſe to obey their deprav'd manners, than their Laws? So that if it could happen, that thoſe great Perſons, whoſe misfortunes I have related, could appeal to any other Cities, d'ye think they would not quickly have ſilenced thoſe talkative People, as ingenious as they were? *Marathon* glitters with the *Perſian* Trophies; *Salamis* and *Artemiſium* beheld the Ruine of *Xerxes* Navy: Thoſe Walls that were pull'd down, riſe more glorious from their ruines. But what are become of all thoſe great Men that did theſe great things? Anſwer *Athens* for thy ſelf. Thou haſt ſuffer'd *Theſeus* to be buried in a little Rock; *Miltiades* to die in Priſon, and *Cimon* his Son to wear his Fathers chains; *Themiſtocles* a Victor to proſtrate himſelf at the Knees of that very perſon whom he had vanquiſhed; *Phocion* alſo, *Solon* and *Ariſtides*, to forſake their Houſhold-gods, when at the ſame time ye give divine Honour to the Bones of *Oedipus*, infamous

for the Death of his Father, and for marrying his Mother. Read therefore thy own Law, which thou art bound by oath to observe; and since thou wouldst not give due Reward to Vertue, make just atonements to their injured Ghosts. They are silent; but whoever reads the ungrateful acts of the *Athenians*, will be severe and free to eternity to reproach so great a Crime.

CHAP. IV.

Of Piety toward Parents.

ROMAN *Examples.*

1. Cn. Marcius Coriolanus.
2. Scipio Africanus *the Great.*
3. T. Manlius Torquatus.
4. M. Aurelius Cotta.
5. C. Flaminius *Tribune.*
6. Claudia, *a Vestal.*
7. *A Daughter that gave her Mother suck in Prison.*

External Examples.

1. Pero, *a Daughter, gave her father suck in Prison.*
2. Cimon *the* Athenian.
3. *Two Brothers* Spaniards.
4. Cleobis *and* Bython, Amphinomus *and* Anapus.
5. Scythians.
6. Crœsus's *dumb Son.*
7. Pulto.

But leave these Ingrates, and talk of those that have been accompted pious; for honest subjects are more pleasing than Stories of the wicked. Let us come then to those, who have been so fortunate in their Offspring, as never to repent the promotion of Generation.

1. *Coriolanus*, a person of a vast Courage and deep in

in Counſel, and well-deſerving of his Countrey, yet almoſt ruin'd under the oppreſſion of an unjuſt Sentence, fled to the *Volſci*, who were Enemies to the *Romans*. For Vertue gets eſteem wherever it goes. So that where he only ſought for refuge, in a ſhort time he obtain'd the chief command of all things. And it hapned that he, who was by the *Romans* refuſed for their Leader, had like to have proved their moſt fatal Enemy. For the *Volſci* having often overcome our Armies, by his Conduct and Valour, came up and begirt the very walls of *Rome*. For this reaſon the People that were ſo haughty, as not to value their own happineſs, were forced to ſupplicate an Exile, whoſe offence they would not pardon before. Embaſſadors were ſent to appeaſe him, but they could do no good: the Prieſts went in their religious Habits, but returned without obtaining any favour: The Senators were at their Wits end, the People trembled, both Men and Women bewail'd their approaching Calamity. But then *Veturia*, *Coriolanus*'s Mother, taking along with her *Volumnia* his Wife, and Children alſo, went to the Camp of the *Volſci*: Whom aſſoon as her Son eſpied, *O my Countrey, thou haſt overcome my anger*, ſaid he, *by vertue of this Womans tears; and for the Wombs ſake that bare me, I forgive thee, though my enemy*; and immediately he withdrew his Army from the *Roman* Territories. And his Piety encountred and overcame all Obſtacles, as well his revenge of the Injury received, the hopes of Victory, as the fear of Death upon his return. And thus the ſight of one Parent changed a moſt ſevere War into a timely Peace.

2. The ſame Piety inflam'd the Elder *Africanus*, hardly paſt the age of Childhood, to the ſuccour of his Father, and arm'd him with manly ſtrength in the midſt of the Battle. For he ſaved the Conſul, being deſperately wounded in the Battle which he loſt to

Hannibal upon the River *Ticinus*: nothing terrified either by the weakneſs of his Age, the rawneſs of skill in War, or the event of an unfortunate Fight, which would have daunted an old Soldier; he thereby merited a Crown conſpicuous for its double Honour; he having recover'd from the jaws of death, a Father and a General.

3. Thoſe famous Examples the City only received by hearſay; theſe they beheld with their eyes. *Pomponius* the Tribune had accuſed *T. Manlius Imperioſſus* to the People, for that he had exceeded his Commiſſion, out of hopes of making an end of the War, and for ſending away his Son, which was a perſon of very great hopes, from publick employment, to follow his own countrey-affairs. Which when *Manlius* underſtood, he came to the City, and went by break of day to *Pomponius*'s Houſe; who believing that he came to aggravate his Fathers Crimes, by whom he had been ill uſed, commanded all the people out of the Chamber, that he might the more freely take his Examination. The Son having thereby got an opportunity ſo fit for his turn, drew his Sword which he had brought privately under his Coat, compell'd the threatned and terrified Conſul to ſwear, that he would forbear any farther proſecution of his Father: So that *Imperioſſus* never came to his Trial. Piety toward mild Parents is commendable: But *Manlius*, the more ſevere to him his Father was, the greater praiſe he merited, by the aſſiſtance which he gave him; being invited by no allurement of Indulgence, but only natural Affection to love him.

4. This ſort of Piety did *M. Cotta* imitate, the very ſame day that he put on the Coat of Manhood; when aſſoon as he deſcended out of the Capitol, he accuſed *Carbo* who had condemn'd his Father, and being condemn'd proſecuted him to puniſhment; ennobling

nobling his early Youth, and first attempt in publick buſineſs, with a famous action.

5. Paternal Authority was equally reverenced by *C. Flaminius*. For when he being a popular Tribune had publiſh'd a Law for dividing the *Gallick* Land to every particular man, in oppoſition to the Senate, and quite againſt their wills, contemning both their threats and entreaties, and not at all terrified with the threats of an Army, which they menaced to raiſe againſt him, if he perſiſted in his obſtinacy; was got into the Pulpit for Orations, reading his Law to the People; yet when his Father pull'd him away, he came down obedient to Paternal Command: no man murmuring in the leaſt to ſee him break off in the midſt of his Speech.

6. Theſe were great effects of Manly Piety; but I cannot tell whether the act of *Claudia*, the Veſtal Virgin, were not as forcible and as couragious. Who, when ſhe ſaw her Father pull'd out of his Triumphal Chariot, by the rude hand of a Tribune, with a wonderful celerity interpoſing her ſelf between them, appeaſed the higheſt Authority in the City, inflamed with Anger and Malice. So that the Father rode in Triumph to the Capitol, the Daughter to the Temple of *Veſta*. Nor could it be rightly decided to which moſt praiſe was due, whether to him whom Victory, or her whom Piety attended.

7. Pardon me moſt antient Hearths, pardon me eternal Fires, if the context of our work lead us from your moſt ſacred Temple, to the more neceſſary rather than magnificent part of the City. For no Misfortune, no Poverty cheapens the price of Piety. Rather the trial of it is the more certain, by how much the more miſerable. The Pretor had delivered to the Triumvir a noble Woman to be put to death in Priſon being condemned for ſome hainous Crime. But the

Keeper, compaſſionating her caſe, did not ſtrangle her preſently. All the while he gave her Daughter liberty to come to her, after he had diligently ſearch'd that ſhe carried her no food, believing that in a little time ſhe might be ſtarv'd to death. But ſeeing her live many days without any alteration, he began to conſider with himſelf by what means ſhe kept herſelf alive; thereupon more diligently watching her Daughter, he obſerv'd her giving her Breaſt to her Mother, and pacifying the rage of her hunger with her Nipples. The novelty of which wonderful ſight, being by him related to the Triumvir, by the Triumvir to the Prætor, by the Prætor to the Council of the Judges, they granted the Woman her pardon. What will not Piety invent, that for the preſervation of a Parent in priſon, found out ſo ſtrange a means as this? For what more unuſual, what more unheard-of, than that a Mother ſhould be nouriſhed by the Breaſts of a Child? One would think this were againſt the courſe of Nature, but that Nature commands us in the firſt place to love our Parents.

FORRAIGN *Examples.*

1. The ſame is to be ſaid of *Pero*'s Piety, who preſerved her Father *Cimon*, fallen into the ſame misfortune, and in Priſon, nouriſhing him like an Infant, in his decrepit Age, with the Milk of her Breaſts. Mens eyes are fix'd, and in an amaze, when they behold this piece of Piety repreſented in painting.

2. Nor can I forget thee *Cimon*, that didſt not fear to purchaſe the Burial of thy Father, with a voluntary ſurrendring thy own perſon to impriſonment. For though afterwards it happ.d, that thou wert both a famous Citizen and a renowned Captain, yet didſt thou get more honour in the priſon than in the Council-Chamber.

Chamber. For other Vertues deserve admiration, but Piety merits Love.

3. Nor must I forget the two Brothers, whose Courage was more noble than their Birth. Who being born of low Parentage in *Spain*, grew famous by their Deaths, laying down their Lives for the support of their Family. For they having agreed with the *Pacieci* for twelve thousand Pieces of Money, to be paid to their Parents after their Death, upon condition that they should kill *Epastus*, Tyrant of that Countrey; not only performed the exploit, but bravely fell in performing it. With the same hands revenging their Countrymen, punishing *Epastus*, providing a maintenance for their antient Parents, and purchasing renown to themselves. Therefore now they live in their Tombs, because they chose rather to support their Fathers in their old Age, than to preserve their own.

4. A more known pair of Brothers were *Biton* and *Cleobis*, *Amphinomus* and *Anapus*: The first, because they drew their Mothers Chariot to the Temple of *Juno*, to perform the Ceremonies there: The other, because they carried their Father and their Mother upon their Shoulders, through the midst of *Ætna*'s flames: but neither of them lost their Lives.

5. Nor do I go about to detract from the honour of the *Argives*, or to cloud the glory of the *Sicilians*. But I hold the light of knowledg to the ignorance of a more obscure Piety: which makes me renew the memory of a piece of *Scythian* Piety. For *Darius* invading their Territories with a mighty Army, they retreated before him to the very utmost Solitudes of all *Asia*. Thereupon, being by his Embassadours questioned, when they would make an end of flying, or when they would begin to fight; they made answer, *That they had neither till'd Lands, nor any Cities which were worth fighting for; but when they came to the Monuments of their Ancestors,*

Ancestors, then he should know how the Scythians *were wont to fight.* By which pious answer, that fierce and barbarous Nation redeem'd themselves from the scandal of Savageness. Therefore is Nature the first and best Mistress of Piety, which neither wanting the help of Speech, nor the use of Letters, through her own silent and proper Power infuses Charity into the breasts of Children. What is then the profit of Learning? That their Wits should be more polite, but not more honest. For true Vertue is rather born than acquired.

6. For who taught such People as wander up and down in Carts, that shelter their naked Bodies in the Woods, and live by destroying Cattle like Dogs, to give *Darius* such an Answer? She that taught *Crœsus*'s Son, that was born dumb, to speak for the preservation of his Father. For the City of *Sardis* being taken by *Cyrus*, when one of the *Persians* not knowing who the person was, furiously was going about to have kill'd his Father, call'd back the Sword that was just at his Throat, by crying out aloud to the Souldier, that he should not kill King *Crœsus*. So that he, who till that time was mute, recovered his Speech for the safety of his Father.

7. The same Charity arm'd a Youngman of *Pinna* (sirnamed *Pulto*) in the *Italian* War, with the same strength of Body and Mind: Who being Governour of the City when it was besieged, when the *Roman* General caused his Father to be brought forth, and threatned to put him to death before his face, unless he would deliver up the Town, made a Sally, and recovered his Father out of the Enemies hands. Doubly famous, for that he preserved his Father, and yet did not betray his Countrey.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Fraternal Benevolence.

1. P. Africanus *the Great.* 3. T. Cæsar Augustus.
2. M. Fabius Vibulanus *Cs.* 4. *A certain Souldier.*

NExt to this kind of Piety follows *Fraternal Benevolence.* For as it may be accompted the first Bond of Friendship, to have received many and great Benefits; the next tye is, that we have received them together. For how abundantly pleasant is the remembrance of those things! Before I was born I liv'd in the same House, My Infancy lay in the same Cradle, The same Persons were Parents to both, The same Vows were made for both, and we enjoy the same honour by our extraction. A Wife is dear to a Husband, Children dear to a Parent, Friends are acceptable, and Acquaintance are delightful; but when you have read what follows, there is no Benevolence that exceeds Brotherly Loving Kindness.

1. And this I speak by the testimony of *Scipio Africanus*, who though he had contracted a most strict Friendship with *Lælius*, yet he besought the Senate that they would not transfer to him his Brothers Provincial Lot which they had taken from him, and promised to go himself Lieutenant to his Brother: So that the Elder became inferiour to the Younger Brother, the stout and couragious to the faint-hearted, the renowned to a person of no fame; and, which is more, he that was already *Africanus*, to him that was not yet *Asiaticus*. So that he assumed one of the most noble Sirnames, and gave the other. He received the Imperial

rial Coat of one Triumph, and gave the other; greater by assistance, than his Brother by Superiority of Command.

2. But *Marcus Fabius* the Consul having overthrown the *Veientes* and *Hetrusci*, in a most remarkable Fight, would not accept of a Triumph, which was offer'd him with the full consent of the Senate, and eager desire of the People; because his Brother, a person of Consular Dignity, was kill'd bravely fighting in that Battle. How great was the zeal of Fraternal Charity that was lodg'd in that breast, that could not be extinguish'd by the splendour of so high an honour?

3. For this Example Antiquity is famous; that which follows has been no small Ornament to our Age, who have had the honour to see the Fraternal Yoak of the *Claudian*, and now also the Glory of the *Julian* Family. For so great a Love had our Prince and Parent for his Brother *Drusus*, that when he understood at *Ticinum*, whither he came a Conquerour to embrace his Parents, that his Brother *Drusus* lay dangerous sick in *Germany*, in a frightful amaze he flew out of Town. And the Journey which he made appears from hence to have been so swift, as if he had rode it at one breath; for passing the *Alpes* and the *Rhine*, he posted day and night, changing his Horses, above two hundred Miles, through several barbarous Nations but newly conquer'd, in the company of *Antabagius* only, who was his guide. But in all that hazard and danger, when he had forsaken the company of Men, the most sacred name of Piety, and the Gods that are the favourers of all laudable Vertues, even *Jupiter* himself, the faithful Preserver of the *Roman* Empire, accompanied him. *Drusus* also faint and weak, at that very moment when there is little or no distinction to be made between Life and Death, ordered the Legions

Legions with their Enſignes to go and meet his Brother. He alſo order'd a Prætorium to be erected for him upon the right hand, and would make him take the Conſular and Imperial Dignity: and at the ſame time he ſubmitted to the Majeſty of his Brother, and the ſtroak of Death. Nor can any preſident of Fraternal Love be compar'd to theſe, unleſs it be the Examplar of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

4. However it cannot be a diſhonour to the Memory of the moſt famous Emperours, to mention here the ſtrange Love of a certain Souldier toward his Brother. For he being in pay under *Pompey*, and having ſlain a Souldier under *Sertorius*, that preſs'd him very hard, when he came to ſtrip him, and found him to be his own Brother, curſing the Gods for giving him the Victory, he carried him near the Camp, and putting a rich Garment upon him, laid him upon a Funeral Pile. Which aſſoon as he had kindled, with the ſame Sword wherewith he had ſlain his Brother, he thruſt himſelf to the heart, and falling upon his Brother, was burnt in the ſame flames. He might have liv'd Innocent, had he pleaded Ignorance; but he rather choſe to make uſe of his own Piety, than the pardon of others; and for that reaſon to accompany his Brother in Death.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

Of Piety toward their Countrey.

1. L. Junius Brutus *first Consul.*
2. M. Curtius *the* Roman *Knight.*
3. M. Genutius Cipus *Prætor.*
4. Q. Ælius Pætus *Prætor.*
5. P. Decius *Consul.*
6. P. Decius *Brother of* Publius *Consul.*
7. Africanus *the Great.*
8. *The* Roman *Citizens.*

Forraign.

1. Codrus *King of the* Athenians.
2. Thrasybulus *the* Athenian.
3. Themistocles *the* Athenian.
4. *The* Philæni, *Brothers.*
5. Aristotle *the* Stagirite.

WE have seen Piety to private Relations, we are now to shew it toward our Native Countrey; to whose Majesty paternal Authority, almost equal to that of the Gods, has ever submitted, and to which Brotherly Affection willingly yields, and with a great deal of reason too. For a Family may be ruin'd, and yet the Commonwealth be safe; but the ruine of the Commonwealth necessarily draws with it the destruction of every Family. But how can we express in words, what so many have testified at the expence of their own Lives?

1. *Brutus* the first Consul meeting *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin* the *Proud*, whom he had expell'd from his Kingdom, in the field ran at him with that fury, that running each other in the body with their Spears, they fell both dead at the same time. I may very well adde,

adde, that the *Roman* People paid dear for their Liberty.

2. But when the Earth ſuddenly ſunk in the midſt of the *Forum*, leaving a wide hole; and that the Oracle had return'd for anſwer, that nothing could fill up that concavity, but that which the *Roman* People moſt valued; *Curtius* a young Gentleman, noble in Birth and Minde, underſtanding that our City did excel in Vertue and Warlike Proweſs, putting on all his Warlike Ornaments, and getting up a Horſeback, he put ſpurs to his Horſe, and rid full ſpeed into the diſmal Precipice, upon whom the Citizens in his honour caſt Fruit and Grain, and then the Earth miraculouſly cloſed again. Many wonderful things did afterwards adorn the *Forum*. Yet never did any one come near the Piety of *Curtius* to his Countrey: For which, as deſerving the chief place of Honour, I will adde another ſomewhat like it.

3. *Genucius Cipus* being Pretor, and juſt coming out of the City in his Habit of General, there befel him a moſt unheard-of Prodigy. For of a ſuddain ſomewhat ſtarted out of his Forehead like Horns: and a Voice anſwer'd, that he ſhould be a King, if he return'd into the City again. Which leſt it ſhould happen, he condemn'd himſelf to perpetual Baniſhment. A noble act of Piety, which conſidering the honour it deſerves, is to be preferr'd before ſeven Kings. In teſtimony whereof, a brazen Image of his Head was ſet up upon the Gate out of which he went.

4. *Genucius* bequeath'd the inheritance of his praiſe, than which a greater could not be given, to *Ælius* the Pretor. For when a Crow came and ſate upon his Head, as he was ſitting in Judgment, the Soothſayers affirm'd, that if he preſerv'd the Crow, his Family ſhould flouriſh, but the condition of the Commonwealth be moſt miſerable; but the Crow being ſlain, the

quite

quite contrary would happen to both: took the Crow and wrung off his neck in the view of all the Senate. He loſt ſeventeen Souldiers of his Family, all ſtout men, at the Battle of *Cannæ*. But the Commonwealth ſoon after recover'd its glory. But theſe Examples *Sylla*, *Marius* and *Cinna* laugh'd at as ridiculous.

5. *Decius*, who firſt brought the Conſulſhip into his own Family, ſeeing the *Romans* ready to fly and almoſt overthrown in the *Latin* War, vowed his own Life for the ſafety of the Army, and preſently, putting Spurs to his Horſe, he flew into the midſt of his Enemies, ſeeking his own Death and the Safety of the Commonwealth: and having made a great ſlaughter, at length orewhelm'd with the multitude of Piles and Darts, the Victime fell. And from his Blood and Wounds ſprang an unlookt for Victory.

6. There might have been but one example of ſuch a General, had he not begot a Son anſwerable to him in courage. For he in his fourth Conſulſhip, with the ſame devotion and ſtoutneſs in fight, with the ſame event of fortune, ſuſtain'd the weak and ſinking force of our City. And therefore it was a difficult thing to underſtand, whether it were more profitable for the *Roman* City to have the *Decii* Commanders, or to looſe them: For living, they kept her from being vanquiſhed, but by their death it overcame.

7. The Elder *Scipio* did not looſe his Life for the Commonwealth, but he carefully provided againſt the deſtruction of the Commonwealth. For when our City, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, expected nothing elſe but to be the Victor *Hannibal*'s prey; and that therefore by advice of *L. Metellus*, the reliques of the broken Army were conſulting to forſake *Italy*: He being a young Tribune, and drawing his Sword, threatned death to every man that would not take an Oath never to

to forsake his Countrey: And not only shew'd an example of Piety himself, but recall'd it back, when it was just forsaking the breasts of others.

8. To come from particulars to generals; How was the City equally divided in their flames, and equally inflamed with the Love of their Countrey! For the Treasury being emptied in the Second *Punic* War, that there was not enough for the performance of their divine Ceremonies; the Publicans going to the Censors, promised to let out their Money, in the same abundance, as if Money had abounded in the City, and not require a Farthing profit till the War was ended. The Masters also of the Slaves whom *Sempronius Gracchus* had made free, for fighting so stoutly at *Beneventum*, forbore to ask any Money for their Service. In the Camp it self there was not a Knight, not a Centurion that desir'd any Pay. The Men and Women also brought what Gold and Silver they had, nay the Children also brought their Purple Coats and Golden Hearts, that hung about their Necks, which were the ensignes of their Ingenuities. Nor would any one take advantage of the benefit of the Senates Decree, whereby such and such were freed from Taxes. For they were not ignorant, when *Veii* was taken, when the Gold which *Camillus* had vowed as the Tenth of their Spoil should have been sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*, but could not be purchased, that the Matrons brought in all their Golden Ornaments into the Capitol. They had also heard, that the Thousand Pound of Gold, which was to be paid to the *Gauls*, when they besieged the Capitol, was made up by their Liberality. And therefore out of their own Goodness, and admonished by the Example of Antiquity, they thought they were not to be outdone.

FORREIGN *Examples.*

1. But I will touch upon ſome few Forreign Examples to the ſame purpoſe. The King of the *Athenians*, *Codrus*, when he ſaw his Territories waſted and invaded by vaſt numbers of his Enemies, deſpairing of humane aſſiſtance, ſent to the Oracle of *Apollo*, and by his Embaſſadors deſired to know, which way he might avoid that terrible War. The God returned for anſwer, that it would be ended when he fell by his Enemies hand. Which was not only ſpread about among his own People, but in the Camp of the Enemy: who thereupon commanded that not a man ſhould touch the body of *Codrus*. Which when the King underſtood, he threw off his Royal Robes, and in a ſervile Habit threw himſelf into the midſt of a Squadron of the Enemy, that were out a forraging, and wounding one of them with a ſcythe, provoked the ſouldier to kill him; by whoſe Death *Athens* eſcaped ruine.

2. From the ſame Fountain of Piety flowed the ſoul of *Thraſybulus*. For he being deſirous to free his Countrey from the oppreſſion of the Thirty Tyrants, and was going about the enterprize with a ſmall number of Men, one of his Company ſaid to him; How much will *Athens* be indebted to thee, if they regain their Liberty by thy means? *The Gods grant*, anſwered he, *that I may have then paid them what I owe them.* With which Wiſh he heap'd a greater honour upon his renowned work of deſtroying the Tyranny.

3. But *Themiſtocles*, whoſe Vertue made him Conquerour, his Countries injury the General of the *Perſians*, that he might not be forced to invade it, having inſtituted a ſacrifice, he drank up a full Beaker of

of Bulls Blood, and fell before the Altar a renowned Victime of Piety.

4. There follows an Example of the same nature. When *Carthage* and *Cyrene* contended most obstinately for a spot of ground; at length it was agreed to send certain Young-men from such a distance, and where ever they met, that place to be the bound of both their Territories. But in this Agreement two *Carthaginian* Brothers, call'd *Philæni*, were too hard for the other, setting out sooner and making more haste: which when the Young-men of *Cyrene* understood, they for a long time complain'd of their fallacy; but at length they resolv'd to recompence the injury by propoling a severe condition. For they proposed to the *Carthaginians*, that that place should be the bounds agreed upon, provided the *Philæni* would suffer themselves to be buried there. But the event disappointed their expectation; for they without any delay delivered their bodies to be buried. Who, because they rather desired large bounds to their Country, than large limits of Life, lye entombed in honour, the *Punic* Empire being extended by the resignation of their bones. Where are now the proud Walls of *Carthage?* Where is the Maritime Glory of that Port? Where is their Navy, so terrible upon every shore? Where are all their Armies? Where their numerous Squadrons of Horse? Where those Souls that were not satisfied with the vast tract of *Africa?* All these things Fortune divided between two *Scipio's*. But the destruction of their Country did not abolish the memory of that noble Act perform'd by the *Philæni*. So that mortal courage or strength can purchase nothing immortal, but Vertue alone.

5. This Piety was inflamed with youthful Zeal. But *Aristotle*, hardly able to maintain the reliques of old Age in his wrinkled Members, so strongly labour-

red for the safety of his Countrey, that he snatch'd it out of the hands of the *Macedonians*, almost levell'd with the ground and in their possession, as he lay in his little Bed in *Athens*. So that *Stagira* was no less famous for being subverted by *Alexander*, as for being restor'd by *Aristotle*. Hence it is apparent, how kinde, nay how profuse in their piety to their Countrey, all ages, all degrees of men have been: And how the truth of wonderful Examples, evident to the world, hath subscribed to the Laws of Nature.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Love and Indulgence of Fathers to their Children.

Among the ROMANS.	FORREIGN *Kings.*
1. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.	1. Seleucus *of* Syria.
2. Cæsetius Flavus.	2. Ariobarzanes *of* Cappadocia.
3. Octavius Balbus.	

LEt the Indulgence of pious and dear Affection of Parents toward their Children set sail; and carried with a fair gale, return home laden with a grateful portion of sweetness.

1. *Fabius Rullianus* after he had been Five times Consul, and every time honourably discharged his Office, admir'd for all the Vertues and Merits of his Life, did not disdain to go Lieutenant to his Son *Fabius Gurges*, then marching to put an end to a difficult and dangerous War, going into the Field as it were with a Soul without a Body: His old age being more

proper

proper for the eaſe of a Bed, than the labour of Combats. He alſo followed the Triumphers Chariot, whom he had formerly carried in his own: and appeared not the Companion, but the Author of the Triumph.

2. *Cæſetius* the *Roman* Knights fate was not altogether ſo glorious, yet his Indulgence to his Son was no leſs; who being commanded by *Cæſar*, now Victor over all his forreign and domeſtick Enemies, to diſinherit and abjure his Son, becauſe that he being Tribune of the People had accuſed *Cæſar* to the People of affecting the Empire, ventur'd to give him this Anſwer, *Thou ſhalt rather take from me, O Cæſar, all my Sons, than compel me to diſinherit this one, by my own act.* But he had two ſons beſides, that were hopeful Young-men, to whom *Cæſar* had largely promiſed great Preferment. However he preſerv'd the other ſafe, through the Clemency of the divine Prince; Yet who would not think, but that he did more than humane Wit durſt do, that would not ſtoop to him, who had ſubdued all the World under his command?

3. But I cannot tell whether *Octavius Balbus* were not more kind and ardently affectionate toward his Son. For he being proſcribed by the Triumvirs, and being got out of a Back-door of his Houſe, hearing a falſe report that his ſon was kill'd at home, he return'd to the ſlaughter which he had avoided, and delivered himſelf up to be murthered by the ſouldiers. The moment wherein he ſaw his ſon ſafe, being of more value to him than his own ſecurity. Oh unfortunate eyes of that Young-man, with which he could not avoid beholding a moſt loving Father expiring for his ſake!

FOREIGN *Examples.*

1. But let us come to things more pleasant to the ear. *Antiochus* the son of King *Seleucus*, distractedly in love with his Mother-in-law *Stratonice*, considering with what unlawful flames he burnt, cover'd the impious wound of his breast with a pious dissimulation. Thereupon different Affections being included in the same Marrow and Bowels, unlimited Desires and excessive Modesty had consumed his Body to nothing. He kept his bed, like one ready to expire. His Relations mourn'd; the Father was overwhelm'd with sadness, lamenting the loss of his only son, and the want of succession, and the face of the whole Court was rather Funest, than Royal. But this cloud of sadness was soon dispell'd by the foresight of *Leptines* the Mathematician, or as others say, of *Erasistratus* the Physician; who sitting upon *Antiochus*'s Bed-side, observing him to blush when *Stratonice* entered the Chamber, and that his Pulses beat with more life; but that he waxed pale, and fetch'd deep sighs, when she departed again: At length found out the truth, and declared it to *Seleucus*. Who without any more ado parted with his dearest Wife to his son: attributing his Love to Chance, but the concealing it to death to his Modesty. Let us now consider *Seleucus* as a King, an Old Man, and a Lover, and then it will appear how many and how difficult obstacles did Paternal Indulgence overcome.

2. *Seleucus* parted only with his Wife, but *Ariobarzanes* parted with the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* to his son in *Pompey*'s presence: whose Tribunal when he ascended, and by him invited sate down also in the Running-Chair, he beheld his son sitting by the Secretary in a seat below his Dignity. Thereupon he presently

preſently deſcended from the Running-Chair, and taking his Diadem from his own, put it upon his ſons head, and began to urge him to aſcend to the place from whence he came. The Young-man wept, his Body trembled, the Diadem fell out of his hand, nor could he go any further: And, which was almoſt incredible, he that parted with a Kingdom was glad; he that was to accept it, ſad and ſorrowful. Nor had that famous conteſt had an end, had not *Pompey* interpoſed his Authority; For he called the Prince King, commanded him to take the Diadem, and conſtrained him to ſit down by him in the Running-Chair.

CHAP. VIII.

Perſons ſevere towards their Children.

1. L. Junius Brutus *firſt Conſul.*
2. Caſſius Viſcellinus.
3. Titus Manlius Torquatus *the Lawyer.*
4. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
5. A. Fulvius.

1. THe Lenity of the foregoing Parents was Comical, the Severity of theſe that follow Tragical. *Lucius Brutus* that equall'd *Romulus* in honour; for he founded *Rome*, and this the *Roman* Liberty. He coming to the Supreme Power, and underſtanding that his Sons endeavour'd to reſtore *Tarquin*, caus'd them to be apprehended, and to be whipt with Rods before the Tribunal; and after that, caus'd them to be tied to a ſtake, and then ordered the Serjeant to cut off their Heads. He put off the relation of a Father,

that he might act like a Consul: and rather chose to live Childless, than to be remiss in publick revenge.

2. *Cassius* following his Example, though his Son were a Tribune of the People, and were the first that had promulgated the *Agrarian* Law, and by many other Popular Acts had won the hearts of the people, when he had laid down his command, by advice of his Kindred and Friends, condemn'd him in his own house for affecting the Kingdom: and after he was whipt, commanded him to be put to death; and consecrated his estate to *Ceres*.

3. *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, famous for his many great Dignities, and a person of rare experience in the Civil Law and the Pontifical Ceremonies, did not think it necessary to consult his Friend in an act of the same nature. For when the *Macedonians* had by their Embassadours complain'd to the Senate of *D. Silanus* his Son, who was Governour of that Province, he besought the Senate, that they would determine nothing in that affair, till he had heard the difference betwixt his Son and the *Macedonians*. Then with the general consent of the Conscript Fathers, and of them that came to complain, he sate and heard the cause in his own House, wherein he spent two whole days alone, and the third day, after he had diligently examin'd the testimonies on both sides, he pronounced this Sentence: *Whereas it hath been proved, that* Silanus, *my Son, has taken Money of our Allies, I think him unworthy to live either in the Commonwealth, or in my House, and I command him forthwith to get out of my sight.* *Silanus* struck with the sharp and cruel Sentence of his Father, would not endure to live any longer, but the next night hang'd himself. Now had *Torquatus* done the part of a severe Judge; he had made satisfaction to the Commonwealth; the *Macedonians* had their revenge; and one would

would have thought, that the Fathers rigour might have bin mollified by the unfortunate end of his Son: But he would neither be present at his Funeral, nor listen to them that came to consult him about his Burial.

4. But *M. Scaurus*, the Light and Ornament of his Countrey, when the *Roman* Cavalry was worsted by the *Cimbrians*, and deserting the Proconsul *Catulus*, took their flight toward the City, sent one to tell his Son, who was one of those that fled, that he had rather meet with his carcass slain in the field, than see him guilty of such a shameful flight. And therefore if there were any shame remaining in his breast, degenerate as he was, he should shun the sight of his enraged Father: For by the remembrance of his youth, he was admonish'd what kind of Son was to be owned or contemned by such a Father as *Scaurus* Which message being deliver'd him, the young man was forced to make a more fatal use of his Sword against himself, than against his enemies.

5. No less imperiously did *A. Fulvius*, one of the Senatorian Order, keep back his Son from going into the field, than *Scaurus* chid his for running away. For he caus'd his Son, eminent among his equals, for his Wit, Learning and Beauty to be put to death; because he took part with *Catiline*, being seduced by ill counsel: having brought him back by force, as he was going to *Catiline's* Army, and uttering these words before his death, *That he did not beget him to join with* Catiline *against his Countrey, but to serve his Countrey against* Catiline. He might have kept him in till the heat of the War had been over; but that would have bin only the act of a cautious, this was the deed of a severe Father.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of those that us'd Moderation toward their suspected Children.

1. L. Gellius Publicola.
2. Q. Hortensius *the Orator.*
3. *One* Fulvius.
4. *A certain Parent.*

BUt to temper this incensed and sharp Severity with a mixture of Clemency, let us joyn acts of Pardon to exactness of Punishment.

1. *L. Gellius*, a person that had gone through all the Offices of Honour, even to the Censorship, when he had almost discovered his Son to be guilty of most hainous Crimes, as lying with his Mother-in-law, and plotting with her to take away his Fathers Life, did not presently run to revenge himself, but after he had consulted almost the whole Senate, after he had charged him, gave him the liberty to speak for himself, and after a strict Examination and Trial, he acquitted him. Had he hasted to cruelty out of the motions of Anger, he had committed a greater crime, than that which he sought to punish.

2. *Quintus Hortensius*, who in his time was the Ornament of the *Roman* Eloquence, shew'd a singular example of Patience to his Son. For when he knew him to be so debauch'd, that he could not endure his impiety, and for that reason being about to make *Messala* his Sisters Son his Heir, he told the Senate, while he was defending him from an accusation of bribing the Peoples voices, that if they condemn'd him, he should have nothing left but the Kiss of his Nephews.

Nephews. Intimating by thoſe words which he inſerted in his Oration, that he reſerv'd his Son, rather in the torment of his minde, than among his pleaſures: Yet that he might not invert the order of Nature, he left his Eſtate to his Son, and not to his Nephews, Moderately uſing his Affections: For that in his life he gave an impartial teſtimony of his manners, and being dead he did him the honour which was due to his blood.

3. The ſame thing did *Fulvius*, a man of great Fame and Dignity. For when he had beſought the Senate, that his Son, being ſuſpected of Parricide, might be ſought for by the *Triumvir*, and apprehended by the Senates Warrant; he not only ſurceas'd to proſecute him, but alſo left him all his Eſtate after his deceaſe. Conſtituting the perſon whom he had begot, not the perſon whoſe wickedneſs he had experienc'd, for his Heir.

4. To theſe merciful Acts of great men, I will adde one new and unuſual Example of an unknown Parent; Who finding that his Son lay in wait for his life, and not believing that any true-born and truely-begotten Child could ever harbour ſuch lewd and wicked thoughts, took his Wife one day aſide, and asked her very ſeriouſly, whether the Child were ſuppoſititious, or whether ſhe had conceived him by another? But being aſſured by her Oaths and Aſſeverations, that he had not any reaſon to be in that manner jealous; he at length took his Son with him into a private place, deliver'd him a Sword which he had ſecretly brought along with him, and bid him cut his throat; telling him withal, that he needed make uſe neither of Poyſon nor Thieves to compleat his Parricide. The immediate thought of which act, not by degrees, but ſo ſuddainly poſſeſs'd the breaſt of the young man, that flinging away his Sword, *Live Father*, ſaid he, *live*;

and

and if you are ſo dutiful, as to permit ſuch a Son to pray, may you excel me in length of days. But I beſeech you withal, let not this my Love ſeem the more ignoble, becauſe it proceeds from penitence. O Solitude more ſacred than Bloodſhed! O Woods more free from cruelty than home it ſelf! O Sword more kinde than nouriſhment! O more happy benefit of Death offer'd, than of Life beſtow'd!

CHAP. X.

Of thoſe who have couragiouſly born the Death of their Children.

ROMANS.	FORREIGNERS.
1. M. Horatius Pulvillus, *Coſ.* 2.	1. Pericles *the* Athenian.
2. L. Æmilius Paulus.	2. Xenophon.
3. Q. Marcius Rex.	3. Anaxagoras.

HAving made a relation of ſuch Parents as patiently brooked the Injuries of their Children, let us ſpeak of ſuch as have born their Death couragiouſly.

1. *Horatius Pulvillus* being to dedicate a Temple in the Capitol of *Jupiter*, as he was holding the poſt, and ready to pronounce certain ſolemn words, news was brought him that his Son was dead: But he neither took his hand off the poſt, nor made the leaſt interruption in the Dedication of the Temple, nor altered his countenance from the publick Ceremony to his private Grief; leſt he might ſeem rather to have acted the part of a Father, than a High-prieſt. *Bury the carcaſs then*, ſaid he.

2. A great Example, and no leſs renowned than the former, is that which follows. *Æmilius Paulus*, the pattern of a moſt happy, yet a moſt unfortunate Father, of four Sons which he had, all hopeful and beautiful youths, had tranſlated two into the *Cornelian* Family by right of Adoption, and only reſerved two to himſelf. One of which died four daies before his Fathers Triumph. The other alive in the Triumphal Chariot expir'd the third day after. Thus he that was ſo liberal in beſtowing Children upon others, was himſelf left childleſs in a ſhort time. Which Misfortune, that you may know how magnanimouſly he brook'd it, he made plainly apparent in an Oration which he made to the People, concerning the Actions which he had done for them, by adding this little clauſe: *When in the higheſt ſucceſs of my felicity, I was afraid, moſt noble* Romans, *that Fortune would do me ſome miſchief or other; I prayed to* Jupiter, Juno *and* Minerva, *that if any thing of Calamity threatned the* Roman *Government, they would exhauſt it all upon my Family. And therefore 'tis very well; for according to my wiſhes, they have ſo ordered it, that you ſhould rather compaſſionate my private, than I bewail your publick loſſes.*

3. I will only adde one Domeſtic Example more, and then permit my Story to wander. *Q. Marcius Rex* the Elder, Colleague with *Cato* in the Conſulſhip, loſt a Son of eminent hopes and piety, and which added to his calamity, his onely Child. Yet when he ſaw his Family ruin'd and ended by his death, he ſo ſuppreſs'd his grief by the depth of his prudence, that immediately he went from his Sons grave to the Senate-houſe; and as it was his duty that day, immediately ſummon'd all the Senators together. So that had he not generouſly ſuſtain'd his ſorrow, he could not have equally divided the light of one day between

a

a ſad and mournful Father, and a ſtout Conſul; not having omitted the good offices of either.

FORREIGNERS.

1. *Pericles* Prince of the *Athenians*, in four days having loſt two moſt incomparable Youths; the very ſame time, without any alteration in his Countenance, or diſcompoſure in his Speech, made a publick Oration to the People. Nay, according to Cuſtome, he went with his Coronet upon his Head, that he might not omit any thing of the antient Ceremony for the wound of his Family. Therefore was it not without cauſe, that a perſon of his magnanimous ſpirit, obtain'd the Sirname of *Olympian*.

2. *Xenophon*, the next to *Plato* in the happy degree of Eloquence, when he was performing a ſolemn Sacrifice, received news that the eldeſt of his Sons, named *Gryllus*, was ſlain in the Battle of *Mantinea*: However, he would not forbear the appointed worſhip of the Gods; but only was contented to lay aſide his Garland; which yet he put on again upon his head, when he underſtood, that he fell couragiouſly fighting; calling the Gods to which he ſacrificed to witneſs, that he more rejoyced at the noble manner of his Death, than ſorrow'd for his loſs. Another perſon would have remov'd the Sacrifice, would have thrown away the Ornaments of the Altars, and caſt away the Incenſe all bedabl'd with tears. But *Xenophon*'s body ſtood immoveable to Religion, and his minde remain'd fix'd in the advice of prudence. For he thought it a thing far more ſad to ſubmit to grief, than to think of the loſs which he had ſuſtain'd.

3. Neither was *Anaxagoras* to be ſuppreſs'd. For hearing the news of his Sons death: *Thou telleſt me*, ſaid he, *nothing new or unexpected: For I knew, that at*

as he was begot by me, he was mortal. These expreſſions were the voice of Vertue, ſeaſon'd with moſt wholeſome Precepts, which whoſoever rightly underſtands, will conſider, that Children are ſo to be begot, as that we may remember, that the Law of Nature has preſcrib'd them a Law of receiving and yielding up their breath, both at the ſame moment: And that as no man ever died that did not live, ſo no man ever lived that muſt not dye.

LIB.

LIB. VI.

CHAP. I.

Of Chastity.

ROMANS.

1. Lucretia.
2. L. Virginius.
3. Pontius Aufidianus *a* Roman *Knight.*
4. P. Mænius.
5. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.
6. P. Attilius Philiscus.
7. Claudius Marcellus.
8. Q. Metellus Celer.
9. T. Veturius
10. C. Pescentius.
11. Cominius.
12. C. Marius.
13. *Certain private persons that vindicated private Adulteries.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Hippo *a* Grecian.
2. Chiomara, *wife of* Orgiaguns.
3. *The* Teutons *wives.*

WHence shall I summon thee forth, fair Chastity, the chief support of Men and Women! For thou inhabitest the Hearths consecrated to *Vesta*, by the antient Religion. Thou broodest upon the Cushions of *Jupiter Capitoline.* Thou the pillar of the *Palatium*, rendrest famous the most illustrious Houshold-Gods, and the most sacred Genial Bed of *Julia*, by thy fixed habitation there. Thy Guardianship defends the honour of young Youth. And out of respect to thy Deity, riper age continues incontaminate. Under thy protection the Matrons Stole, or long Garment,

Garment is reverenc'd. Come hither then, and know what thou thy self wouldst have others do.

1. *Lucretia* the first Example of *Roman* Chastity, whose manlike Soul was, by the mistake of Fortune, enclosed in a female Body, being constrain'd to suffer herself to be ravish'd by *Sextus Tarquinius*, the son of him sirnamed the *Proud*; when she had before an assembly of her Kindred and Friends lamented in most passionate expressions the Injury which she had received, stabb'd herself with a Dagger, which she had conceal'd under her Garment. Whose magnanimous Death gave the people an occasion to alter the Kingly Government into Consular.

2. Neither would *Virginius* brook an injury of this nature, though a person of a very Vulgar extraction, but of a Patrician spirit; for left his Family should be dishonour'd, he spared not his own flesh and blood. For when *Appius Claudius*, the Decemvir, confiding in his power, violently prosecuted the defiling of his Daughter, he brought her forth publickly into the Market-place and slew her: choosing rather to be the Murtherer of a chast, than the Father of a contaminated Daughter.

3. Nor was *Pontius Aufidianus* endued with less Courage of Minde, being a *Roman* Knight, who finding the Virginity of his Daughter prostituted by a Pedagogue to *Fannius Saturninus*; not content to have put the wicked Servant to death, he kill'd his Daughter. And that she might not celebrate dishonourable Nuptials, he married her to a bitter Funeral.

4. What shall I say of *Pub. Mænius*? What a strict Guardian of Chastity was he! For he punished a Freeman of his, for whom he had a great kindness, only because he had kiss'd his Daughter, being of womans estate; though it might seem not to have bin done so

much out of Luſt, as by a miſtake of breeding, or long acquaintance. But he thought fit to imprint the Diſcipline of Chaſtity into the apprehenſion of the tender Maid, by the ſeverity of his ſervants puniſhment; and taught her by ſo ſevere an Example, that ſhe was not only to preſerve her Virginity, but her Lips uncontaminated for her Husband.

5. But *Quintus Fabius Maximus Servilianus*, after he had born many great Offices with renown, coming to the Cenſorſhip, queſtion'd his only Son for the doubtful loſs of his Chaſtity: and he underwent the puniſhment, by baniſhing himſelf out of the reach of his Father.

6. I ſhould have ſaid the Cenſor had been too rigid, but that *P. Attilius Philiſcus*, who ſuffered his body to be made uſe of by his Maſter for gain, prov'd ſo ſevere a Father afterwards: For he ſlew his Daughter, becauſe ſhe play'd the whore. How ſacred then ought we to think Chaſtity was, in our City, where the Procurers of Luſt, did ſo cruelly chaſtiſe it?

7. The Example of a moſt excellent perſon and a memorable act follows. *M. Claudius Marcellus*, one of the Ædils that rode in the moving Chair of State, accus'd *Scantinius* a Tribune, and ſummon'd him to anſwer before the People; becauſe he had given out, that his Son had been abus'd in his Body. But he averring that he could not be compell'd to appear, becauſe he was privileg'd, and calling the Tribunal power to his aſſiſtance; the whole Colledge of Tribunes denied to intercede in a cauſe where Chaſtity was call'd in queſtion. *Scantinius* therefore being cited, was condemn'd by that very witneſs, who was accus'd by himſelf. For it is ſaid, that the Youngman being produced before the Judgment-ſeat, with his eyes fixed upon the ground, obſerv'd a moſt reſolute ſilence; by which modeſt ſilence he moſt of all prevail'd in his revenge.

8. *Me-*

8. *Metellus Celer* also was a most severe chastiser of Libidinous Intent; summoning *Cn. Sergius Silus* to answer before the People, for only proffering a sum of Money to the Mistriss of the Family, and condemning him for that single Crime. For then not the deed alone, but the very intention was brought into question; and it was more harm, to have willed an errour, than it was profitable not to offend.

9. Thus far the Juridical Gravity: here follows the extrajudicial. *T. Veturius*, son of that *Veturius*, who was delivered bound to the *Samnites* for making a dishonourable Truce with them, when by reason of the ruine of his Estate, and the great Debts of his family, he was forc'd to yield himself in his youth bound to *Plotius*, and was by him severely whipp'd, because he would not permit him to make use of his Body, complain'd thereof to the Consuls: Who acquainting the Senate with the matter, sent *Plotius* to prison. For they endeavour'd to preserve the Chastity of the *Roman* blood safe, in what state or condition soever.

10. And what wonder if all the Conscript-Fathers made this decree? *C. Pescennius* in Capital matters Triumvir, loaded with the publick chains *Cornelius* a most noted souldier, and one that had been four times advanc'd to be a Centurion of the *Triarii*, or old Souldiers; because he had had private familiarity with a Youth born of free Parents. From whence appealing to the Tribunes, when he spoke nothing of the Fact, but only said, *That he was ready to put in bail, and to make it out, that the Boy had made a publick prostitution of his body for Money*; they absolutely refused to take any cognizance of the matter. Insomuch that *Cornelius* died in prison. For the Tribunes thought it too mean a thing for our Commonwealth to make bargains with men, how stout soever, and

to sell Domestick pleasure at the price of Forraign danger.

11. After the punishment of a lustful Centurion, the severe usage of *Mar. Lætorius Mergus*, a Military Tribune, and his ignominious Death, is next to be related: who was cited before the People by *Cominius*, one of their Tribunes, being accus'd by his Muster-master for a force upon his body. Nor would *Lætorius* abide the Tryal; but first of all privately fled before Judgement, and then slew himself. Yet though he had satisfied Natures debt by his Death, yet was he by the People condemn'd for the crime of Unchastity; the severe Discipline of the Camp, which was the most certain Guardian of the consecrated Eagle, and of the *Roman* Empire, prosecuting him even to his Tomb. Because he had committed a force upon the body of him, whose Master and Commander he was.

12. This mov'd *Caius Marius*, then when he pronounced *C. Luscius* his Sisters son, and a Tribune of the People, to be legally slain by *C. Plotius* a common Souldier; because he durst impeach him before the people, upon an accusation of abusing his Body.

13. But to give a slight account of those, who have made use of their own instead of the publick Law, in the vindication of their Chastity: *Sempronius Muscs* caus'd *C. Gallius* to be whipp'd, for being taken in the act. *C. Memmius* also caus'd *L. Octavius* to be handled after the same manner for the same fact: *Carbo Accienus* was gelt by *Vibienus*, *Pontius* by *P. Cernius*, being both taken in the Act. A certain person also took *Cn. Furius Brochus* in the fact, and deliver'd him over to be abus'd by the whole Family: who counted it no detriment to indulge their own Anger.

FOR-

FORRAIGNERS.

1. And that I may adde Forraign to Domeſtick Examples, a *Grecian* woman named *Hippo*, being taken by the Enemies Fleet, flung herſelf into the Sea, that ſhe might preſerve her Chaſtity: whoſe body waſting to the *Erechtean* ſhore, was buried by the Sea-ſide, and lies cover'd with a little hillock to this day. But *Greece* having committed to eternal memory the honour of her Sanctity, makes her every day more famous.

2. A more vehement this, that which follows a more conſiderate Example of Chaſtity. The Army of the *Gallo-Græci* being all defeated and taken by *Cn. Manlius*, upon the Mountain *Olympus*, the wife of *Orgiagon*, a woman of extraordinary Beauty, was taken likewiſe and forc'd by the Centurion, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed. When ſhe came to that place, where by the Conſuls command the Centurion had ſent to the friends of the Woman to bring her Ranſome, while the Centurion was weighing the Gold, with his eyes fix'd upon the quantity, the *Gallo-Grecian* in her own language commanded thoſe of her own Nation to kill him; and then with the Head cut off in her hand, ſhe went to her Husband, and caſting it at her feet, ſhe related the injury done her, and her own revenge. What part of this Woman can any one ſay was in the power of the Enemy, but her Body? for neither could her Minde be vanquiſhed, nor her Chaſtity taken.

3. But the Wives of the *Teutons* beſought *Marius* their Conqueror, that they might be ſent by him as a Preſent to the Veſtal Virgins, affirming that they would abſtain from the company of men as ſacredly as they ſhould. But that requeſt not being granted them,

them, the next night they all hang'd themſelves. 'Twas well the Gods did not infuſe the ſame Courage into their Husbands in the field. For had they imitated the Vertue of their Wives, they had queſtion'd the Triumphs of the *Teutonic* Victory.

Chap. II.

What things were freely ſaid or done.

Among the Romans.

1. *The Embaſſadors of the* Privernates.
2. Lucius Marcius Philippus *Coſ.*
3. Scipio Æmilianus.
4. Cn. Calpurnius Piſo.
5. M. Cato *of* Utica.
6. Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus.
7. M. Favonius.
8. Helvius Mancia Fermianus.
9. Delphilus *the Tragedian.*
10. Marcus Caſtricius *the* Placentine.
11. Servius Sulpitius Galba.
12. A. Caſellius *the Lawyer.*

Forraigners.

1. Machæra *a* Macedonian *woman.*
2. *A* Syracuſan *Woman.*
3. Theodorus *the* Cyrenean.

AS I did not invite Liberty, atteſted as well by the Words as by the Sayings of vehement Spirits; ſo I will not exclude it coming in my way. Which being ſcituated between Vertue and Vice, if it keep it ſelf within the bounds of Moderation, may deſerve Praiſe; if it launch out further than the limits of due reſpect, is to be reprehended: becoming thereby more grateful to the ears of the Vulgar, than approv'd by Wiſemen:

Wiſemen; and is more ſecure in the pardon of others, than in the providence of the perſon. But ſince we have reſolv'd to proſecute all the parts of Humane Action; let us relate the Story upon our own credit, and let others judge as they think fit.

1. *Privernum* being taken, and thoſe perſons put to death, who had caus'd the Town to rebel; the Senate mov'd with indignation, conſider'd what they ſhould do with the reſt of the Inhabitants. Thus their ſafety was in a fluctuating condition, at the ſame time ſubject to the Victors, and thoſe that were incens'd againſt them. But when they ſaw there was no way but to ſubmit and petition, they could not forget that they had ſome *Italian* blood in their Veins. For the chief in Court being examin'd among them, what puniſhment they deſerv'd; made anſwer, What puniſhment they deſerv'd, who thought themſelves worthy of Liberty. He had taken Arms in words, and had inflam'd the incens'd minds of the Senators. When *Plautius* the Conſul favouring the cauſe of the *Privernates*, put a ſtop to his ſtout anſwer, and aſk'd him again, What kind of Peace the *Romans* ſhould make with them, granting them their pardon? But he with a reſolute Countenance return'd again, *If ye grant us good Conditions, let the Peace be perpetual; if bad, as ſhort as you pleaſe.* By which ſtern Repartie he brought it to paſs, that the vanquiſh'd were not only pardon'd, but enjoy'd the Priviledges of our City.

2. Thus the Captain of the *Privernates* ſpoke in the Senate. But *L. Philippus* the Conſul did not forbear to make uſe of the ſame liberty againſt the ſame Order. For upbraiding their ſloath before the *Roſtra*, he told them, *The Commonwealth ſtood in need of another Senate*; and was ſo far from repenting for what he had ſaid, that he commanded *L. Craſſus*, a man of

great Dignity and Eloquence, to be laid hold on for murmuring againſt it. But he, thruſting back the Lictor, *Thou art no Conſul of mine*, ſaid he, *becauſe I am no Senator of thine.*

3. What! Were the people ſafe from the aſſaults of Liberty? No, it both aſſail'd them, and found them patiently ſuffering. *Carbo* a Tribune of the People, and a moſt turbulent aſſertor of the *Gracchian* Sedition, and a moſt abſolute firebrand of the growing Civil Wars, having hal'd *P. Africanus* from the very Gate of the City to the *Roſtra*, as he return'd with Triumph from the ruines of *Numantium*, there ask'd him his opinion of the death of *Gracchus*, whoſe Siſter he had married: that by the authority of a perſon ſo much in credit, he might adde fuel to the fire already begun: Not doubting, but that in regard of their near relation, he would have ſpoken ſomewhat affectionately in behalf of his Brother that was put to death; but he anſwer'd, *That he was legally ſlain.* Upon which ſaying, when the whole Aſſembly incens'd with the Tribunitian fury, began to make a great Clamour, *Hold your peace*, ſaid he, *you, to whom* Italy *is but a ſtepmother.* And when they began to ſet up another Cry, *You ſhall never make me fear*, ſaid he, *thoſe free, whom I brought hither bound.* Thus were the whole People reproved by one man with contempt. What an honour they gave to Vertue! They preſently were mute. The *Numantine* Victory freſh in Memory, his Fathers *Macedonian* Conqueſt, his Grand-fathers *Carthaginian* Trophies, and the Necks of two Kings, *Perſeus* and *Syphax*, chain'd to their Triumphal Chariots, ſtopt the mouths of the enraged Multitude. Nor did ſilence proceed from fear, but becauſe through the aid of the *Cornelian* and *Æmilian* Families, many fears of the City and *Italy* were put to an end; the People of *Rome* were not free, in reſpect of *Scipio*'s Liberty.

4. And

4. And therefore we need the leſs wonder that the vaſt Authority of *Pompey* conteſted ſo often with Liberty. Nor was it without great applauſe that he took things patiently, becauſe it was his fortune to be a laughing-ſtock to the licenſe of all ſorts of men. *Cn. Piſo* when he had indited *Manilius Criſpus*, and ſaw him, though apparently guilty, to be protected by *Pompey*; being carried on with a youthful heat and deſire of accuſation, he tax'd the potent defendour with many great and hainous Crimes: Being then examin'd by him, why he did not accuſe him himſelf? *Do but thou*, ſaid he, *give Sureties to the Commonwealth, if thou art accuſed, that thou wilt not raiſe a Civil War, and I will cauſe the Judges to ſit upon thy head, before they ſit upon the head of* Manilius. Thus by the ſame Judgment he maintain'd two perſons guilty; *Manilius* by his Accuſation, *Pompey* by his Liberty: and the one he fulfill'd by Law, the other by the profeſſion of his good will, not being able to go any farther.

5. What therefore is Liberty without *Cato?* No more than *Cato* without Liberty.. For when he ſate Judge upon a Senator, that was very guilty and infamous, and that there were Certificates produced under *Pompey*'s hand, in favour of the party accus'd, he preſently caus'd them to be laid aſide, reciting the Law, wherein it was enacted that no Senator ſhould make uſe of any ſuch aſſiſtance. The fact is not much to be wonder'd at, conſidering the perſon; for what might ſeem ſaucineſs in another, was in *Cato* known to be Fidelity to his Countrey.

6. *Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus* the Conſul, when he was complaining in a ſet Speech of *Pompey*'s prodigious power, and that all the people began to cry him up; *Shout*, ſaid he, *ſhout while you may, brave* Romans, *ſhortly it will not be lawful for you to do it, and go unpuniſh'd.*

punish'd. Thus was the power of a potent Citizen nipp'd, on the one side by an envious complaint, on the other side by a sad lamentation.

7. To which eminent Citizen, having his thigh bound about with a white Shash, *It matters not*, said *Favonius*, *upon what part of the body the Diadem be worn.* Upbraiding his Kingly Power, by cavilling at a little piece of cloth. But he turning his head neither one way nor other, was mighty careful how he acknowledged his power by any chearfulness in his looks, or how he shewed his Anger by any Severity: and by that patience laid himself open to the meanest and lowest sort of people.

8. *Helvius Mancia Formianus*, the Son of *Libertinus*, when he was very old accus'd *Libo* to the Censors: In which contest when *Pompey* the Great upbraided him with his low condition, and his old age, and told him withal, that he was sent from the Grave to be an Accuser; *Thou telleſt no untruth*, Pompey, said he, *I come from the infernal shades to accuse* Libo. *But when I was there, I saw* Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus *all bloody and weeping; for that being of a noble Extraction, of an upright Life and Conversation, and a great Lover of his Countrey, he was put to death in the flower of his youth at thy command. I saw there also* Brutus, *famous in the same degree, hack'd and hew'd, complaining that the same calamity befel him, first through thy perfidy, and then by thy cruelty. I saw* Cn. Carbo *a zealous defender of thy youth and of thy paternal estate, in his third Consulship, laden with those chains which thou didst cause to be put upon him; and upbraiding thee, that contrary to all equity and justice, he was slain by thee a private* Roman *Knight, when he was the greatest Officer in the Commonwealth. I saw in the same habit and condition, a person of the Pretorian Order,* Perpenna, *cursing thy Cruelty; and all with one consent*

conſent bewailing their hard fate, that they ſhould fall uncondemn'd, under ſuch a young hangman as thou. It was lawful for a Member of a Municipal Town, that ſtill had a twang of his Fathers ſervitude, with an unbridled raſhneſs and an unſufferable malice to recal to minde the wide wounds which he had receiv'd in the Civil War, now grown dry with age. And therefore at that time he was in the ſtrongeſt condition to reproach *Pompey*, as well as in the ſafeſt.

9. *Diphilus* the Tragedian, when in the *Apollinary* Plays he came to that Verſe, wherein there is this Sentence, *Our miſery is, Magnus*; he pronounced the words pointing full upon *Pompey*: And being rebuk'd by the People, immediately fell to act him, as a perſon that carried himſelf too great and buſie in Authority. With the ſame petulancy he repeated thoſe other words, *The time ſhall come when thou ſhalt bewail that vertue.*

10. The mind of *Marcus Caſtricius* was alſo inflam'd with Liberty, who being the chief Magiſtrate at *Placentia*, at what time *Cn. Corbo* the Conſul caus'd a Decree to be made, that the *Placentines* ſhould give Hoſtages, neither obey'd his Authority, nor ſubmitted to Greater Men. And to one that told him, *He had many Swords*, he anſwer'd, *And I years.* The Legions were amaz'd to behold ſuch ſtout Reliques of Old Age. And *Carbo*'s anger ſurceas'd of it ſelf, having ſo little matter to rage upon, knowing how ſmall a part of his life he ſhould deprive him of.

11. But the Accuſation of *Ser. Galba* was ſtrangely preſumptuous. Who forbore not to tax the ſacred *Julius* himſelf after all his Victories, as he ſate in the Seat of Judicature. Caius Julius Cæſar, ſaid he, *I took up money upon my bail for* Pompey *the Great, thy Son in Law, in his third Conſulſhip: What ſhall I do? Muſt I ſuffer?* He deſerv'd to have been turn'd out of the

the Court, for upbraiding him so openly with the sale of *Pompey*'s Goods. But he more mild than Clemency it self, caus'd *Pompey*'s Debt to be paid him out of his own Treasury.

12. *A. Cæsellius* a famous Civilian, yet how sawcie and impertinent! For no Favour, no Authority could compel him to make a Bill of sale of those Goods which the *Triumviri* had given away. By that Judgment of his excluding the purchases of Victory out of all course and form of Law. The same person, when he had spoken many things against *Cæsar*'s Faction, and that his Friends admonish'd him to be silent: *There were two things*, he answered, *most bitter to most men, that gave him the boldness which he took; that was to say, old Age, and want of Children.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. A Woman of another Countrey intrudes among so many Men; who being undeservedly condemned by King *Philip* in his drink; *I would appeal to* Philip, said she, *but it must be when he is sober.* The smart sentence rows'd him; and by her present courage she compell'd the King to examine the business more strictly, and to give a juster Sentence. So that she extorted that Justice which she could not get by fair means: borrowing her assistance rather from her frankness of Speech, than from her Innocence.

2. The next now is not only a stout, but a lepid and witty liberty of speech. A very antient Woman, when all the *Syracusans* pray'd for the Death of *Dionysius* the Tyrant by reason of his Cruelty and Oppression, pray'd every day to the Gods for his life and safety. Which when the Tyrant understood, admiring her undeserved kindness, he sent for her, and enquired of her what merit of his made her so careful of him?

him? Then *Truely Sir*, ſaid ſhe, *the reaſon of my deſigne is very well grounded: For when I was a Girl, and that a very ſevere Tyrant ruled over us, I deſired his death; he being ſlain, one more cruel came in his place: then I prayed that he might be taken out of the way; after whom, we began to feel thee worſe than all the reſt: And therefore fearing leſt if thou ſhouldſt die, a worſe than thee ſhould ſucceed, I pray to the Gods for thy ſafety.* Which facetious boldneſs, *Dionyſius* himſelf had not the face to puniſh.

3. Between theſe and *Theodorus* the *Cyrenean* there might be a kind of match made for ſtoutneſs of mind; as vertuous, though not ſo fortunate. For when *Lyſimachus* threatned to put him to death; *Truely*, ſaid he, *You think you have a great purchaſe, becauſe you underſtand the vertue of Cantharides.* But when the King, being incens'd at his Anſwer, commanded him to be nail'd to the Croſs; *Fright your Courtiers*, ſaid he, *with that Sentence; for 'tis all one to me, whether I ſtink under ground or above.*

CHAP. III.

Of Severity.

ROMANS.

1. *The* Roman *People.*
2. P. Mutius Scævola, *Tribune of the People.*
3. *The Senate of* Rome.
4. M. Curius Dentatus, *Coſ.*
5. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
6. M. Horat. Tergeminus.
7. *The Senate of* Rome *againſt Inceſt.*
8. *The Kinſmen againſt Witches.*
9. Egnatius Metellus.
10. C. Sulpitius Gallus.
11. Q. Antiſtius *the Old.*
12. P. Sempronius Sophus.

FOR-

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Lacedæmonians.
2. Athenians.
3. Cambyſes *King of* Perſia.

IT is neceſſary we ſhould arm our ſelves with Cruelty, while we treat of the terrible and horrid acts of Severity; that having laid our more humane thoughts aſide, we may be at leaſure to give ear to Rigour. For ſuch inexorable Revenge, ſuch ſeveral ſorts of Chaſtiſement will come to be known, as, though they may be accounted the fortreſſes of the Law, yet ſhould hardly be inſerted into the number of peaceful Pages.

1. *M. Manlius* was thrown headlong from the place from whence he had repulſed the *Gauls*; Becauſe he endeavour'd wickedly to have oppreſt that Liberty, which he had ſo couragiouſly defended. Of which ſharp Sentence, this was the Preface; *I look't upon thee as* Manlius, *when thou draveſt the* Senones *headlong down the Rock; when thou becameſt a Changeling, I look't upon thee as one of the* Senones *themſelves.* There is a Character of eternal Memory fix'd upon his puniſhment. For, for his ſake it was enacted, that no Patrician ſhould inhabit in the Capitol or in the Caſtle, becauſe he had a Houſe, where now ſtands the Chappel dedicated to *Juno Moneta.* The ſame Indignation of the City brake forth againſt *Sp. Caſſius:* to whom the ſuſpicion of deſiring Soveraignty did more harm, than three magnificent Conſulſhips and two pompous Triumphs did him good. For the Senate and People of *Rome* not contented with putting him to Death, pull'd his Houſe down over him when he was dead, that he might be puniſh'd alſo with the deſtruction of his Houſhold-Gods. Upon the Ground they built a Temple to *Tellus.* Thus the Habitation of a powerful man,

man, is now the Monument of Religious Severity. The same end had *Sp. Melius* by the Sentence of his Countrey, for the same crime.

So that we finde how great an antipathy the Antients had against the Enemies of their Liberty, by the very Ruines and Walls of their Houses. And therefore the Houses of *M. Flaccus* and *L. Saturnius*, most seditious Citizens, were pull'd to the ground after they were slain. At length *Flaccus*'s ground, after it had long remain'd unbuilt, was adorn'd by *Q. Catulus* with the *Cimbrian* spoils.

Titus and *Caius Gracchus* were eminent in our City for their Nobility, and the hope which was conceived of them: But because they endeavour'd the subversion of the Commonwealth, their Bodies lay unburied, and the last Offices due to Mortality were wanting to the Sons of *Gracchus*, and the Nephews of *Africanus*. Their familiar acquaintance also, lest there should be any Friends of the Commonwealths Enemies left, were shut up in a hollow Oak, and tumbled headlong to the bottom of that place in the Prison, which was therefore call'd *Robur*.

2. The same thing did *P. Mucius* a Tribune of the People think lawful for him to do, as the People and the Senate had done before; who burnt all his Colleagues alive; because, being set on by *Sp. Cassius*, they strove to hinder the Election of Magistrates, to the publick hazard of the common Liberty. Never was any thing more confidently acted than this Severity. For he, a single Tribune, durst inflict that punishment upon nine of his Colleagues, which nine Tribunes durst not exact from one Tribune.

3. Severity hitherto, a most rigid Guardian and Assertor of Liberty, was equally as truculent also in the preservation of Discipline and Dignity. For the Senate sent *M. Clodius* to the *Corsi*, because he had con-

concluded an ignominious Peace with them: And because they would not receive him, caus'd him to be put to Death in Prison. When once the Majesty of the Empire was broken, how many ways did obstinate Anger vindicate it! They nullified the Accord, they deprived him of his Liberty and Life, and dishonour'd his Carcass with the ignominious contumely of the Prison, and the *Gemonian* Precipice. And indeed he had deserv'd this extraordinary chastisement of the Senate. But *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of *Hispallus*, had the experience of it, before he deserved it. For the Province of *Spain* falling to him by lot, they made a Decree, that he should not go thither, with a reason added, Because he could not behave himself as he ought to do. And therefore the Questor *Cornelius* had very like to have suffer'd upon the Law of Bribery, for living in dishonour without any Provincial imployment. Neither was the Severity of the Senate less to *C. Vettienus*, who cut off the Fingers of his left hand, because he would not be forced to the *Italian* War. For they confiscated his estate, and imprisoned him as long as he lived; causing him to spend his days and waste that life ignominiously in a Jail, which he refused nobly to venture in the Field.

4. This Example *Curius* the Consul imitating, who being forced to proclaim a suddain listing of Souldiers, when none of the Youngmen appeared, having caused Lots to be made for all the Tribes, he commanded the first Name that was drawn to be cited: And because he did not answer to his Name, he made a publick Sale of the Youngmans goods. Which assoon as the Youngman had notice of, he ran to the Consul's Tribunal, and appeal'd to the Colledge of Tribunes: But there *Curius* making a Speech, and declaring that the Commonwealth had no need of a Citizen that knew not how

to

to obey; and so sold both his Goods and the Young-man too.

5. In the same manner did *L. Domitius* stand to his panpudding. For when he was Propraetor in *Sicily*, there being a Boar of an extraordinary size presented to him, he commanded the Shepherd that had killed him to be brought before him: and enquiring of him with what Weapon he had killed the beast; when he found he had kill'd him with a Pike-staff, he caused him to be crucified: having publish'd a Proclamation before, for suppressing the Robberies that were committed in the Island, that no person should carry a Dart. Some would take this to be the height of all Severity; for it may be disputed on both sides. But the reason and necessities of publick Government will not suffer the Pretor to be counted over-rigorous.

6. Thus Severity exercis'd it self in the punishment of Men: Nor was it less sedulous in the chastisement of Women. *Horatius*, one of those that fought the three *Curiatii*, by the conditions of the Combat Victor over all the rest of the *Albans*, when returning home from that renowned field, he found his Sister, a Virgin, bewailing the death of one of the *Curiatii*, to whom she was betroth'd, more tenderly than became her age, ran her through with the Sword with which he had so well merited of his Country: not thinking them chast Tears, which were shed for a fond and immature Affection. For which fact being endited before the People, his Father defended him. Thus the inclination of the Virgin toward the memory of her promis'd Husband, was chastis'd by a fierce Brother, while the Father asserted and defended the Chastisement.

7. The Senate afterwards following the same Example of Severity, commanded *Sp. Postumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, the Consuls, to enquire

after those Women who practis'd Incest at the Feast of *Bacchanals*: By whom when many were condemn'd, their Kindred punish'd them all at home; and the ignominy of publick shame, was corrected by the severity of the chastisement: Whereby the more the Women had sham'd our City by their lewd carriage, so much the more fame they brought to it by the Severity of their Punishment.

8. But *Publicia* who poyson'd *Postumius Albinus* the Consul, and *Licinia* who poyson'd *Claudius Asellus*, their Husbands, were strangled by order of their next Relations. For those severe men did not think it necessary, where the crime was so evident and notorious, to spend time in a publick Tryal. And therefore as they would have defended the Innocent, they were the early punishers of the Guilty.

9. The Crime of these was great, that excited Severity to so sharp a Revenge: but *Egnatius Metellus* exercised his Severity for a far more inconsiderable matter, who beat his Wife to death for drinking Wine. For which fact he was so far from being accus'd, that he was not so much as reprehended: every one believing, that for good examples sake, she had undergone the punishment of violated Sobriety very justly. For indeed, whatever woman covets the immoderate use of Wine, shuts the door to all Virtues, and opens it to all Vices.

10. Terrible also was the Matrimonial frown of *C. Sulpitius Gallus*, who divorc'd his Wife, because he understood that she went abroad with her head unvail'd. A rigid Sentence; and yet there was some reason for it. For the Law, said he, confines thee to have no other Judges of thy Beauty but my eyes; for these adorn thy self, be thou only fair to these, and do thou believe their judgment: The farther sight of thee, where it was needless, must of necessity be suspicious and criminal.

11. Not

11. Nor did *Qu. Antistius Vetus* think otherwise, who divorc'd his Wife, because he saw her talking in the street with a certain ordinary freed Woman: for being incens'd at the fault, he prevented the crime; and avoided the injury, that he might not revenge it.

12. To these we must adde *P. Sempronius Sophus*, who divorc'd his Wife, because she went to see a Play without making him acquainted therewith. While this care was taken of old to prevent the Crimes of Women, they were free from offending.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. But though the *Roman* Examples might suffice to instruct the whole world, yet will it not be irksome to know what Forraigners have done. The *Lacedæmonians* caus'd the Books of *Archilochus* to be thrown out of their City, because they thought them not modest and chast enough to be read. For they would not have the minds of their Children season'd with those things, which would be a greater mischief to their Manners than a profit to their Ingenuities. And therefore they punish'd the greatest Poet, or the next to the greatest in the world, by exiling his Verses, because he made smutty Satyrs against *Lycambis*, who had injur'd him.

2. But the *Athenians* put *Timagoras* to death, because that in the Salutation which he gave *Darius*, he flatter'd him after the manner of his own Countrey: taking it in indignation, that the honour of their whole City should be, as it were, submitted to the *Persian* Slavery by the flatteries of one single Citizen.

3. But the Severity of *Cambyses* was more than extraordinary, who caus'd the Skin of a certain corrupt Judge to be flea'd from his body, and nail'd upon the Seat, where he commanded his Son to succeed him.

Chap. IV.

Of things gravely ſaid or done.

Romans.	Forreigners.
1. T. Manlius Torquatus.	1. *The* Cinninienſes.
2. P. Scipio Æmilianus.	2. Socrates *the* Athenian.
3. C. Popilius Lænas.	3. Alexander *the Great.*
4. P. Rutilius Rufus.	4. *The* Lacedæmonians.
5. M. Junius Brutus *Proconſul.*	5. Pædaretus *the* Spartan.

TEnacious Memory keeps in ſtrict remembrance the great and moſt excellent part of applauſe which thoſe things deſerve among renowned men, which were gravely ſaid or done by them. Among the plentiful Examples whereof, let us ſelect, neither with too ſparing or too liberal a hand, thoſe which may rather ſatisfie than ſatiate expectation.

1. When our City was in a ſtrange confuſion upon the Overthrow of *Cannæ*, when the Safety of the Commonwealth hung with a ſlender thread upon the fidelity of our Allies; That they might continue the more ſtedfaſt in the defence of the *Roman* Empire, the greateſt part of the Senate moved, that the Princes of the *Latins* might be admitted among them. As *Annius* formerly and the *Campanians* aver'd, that one of the Conſuls ought to belong to *Capua*, and the other to *Rome*: ſo ſick was then the condition of the *Roman* Empire. Then *Manlius Torquatus*, of the race of him who had overthrown the *Latins*, near the River *Veſeris*

Veseris in a memorable Battle, with a loud voice declared, *That if any of the Associates durst come to give his vote among the Conscript Fathers, he would kill him with his own hand.* The threats of this one single person, both restor'd the pristine heat to the languishing spirits of the *Romans*, and hinder'd *Italy* from advancing themselves to equal Priviledges with our City. For as before they were broken by the Arms of the *Roman* People, so now they gave over, vanquish'd by this mans words.

Equal to this was the Gravity of *Manlius:* For when the Consulship was conferr'd upon him by the consent of all men, and that he refus'd it by reason of the Infirmity of his Eyes, yet for all that was vehemently urged to accept it; *Choose*, said he, *some other person upon whom to confer this Honour; for if ye compel me to take it upon me, neither shall I endure your Customes, neither will you endure the Severity of my Government.* If the voice of a private person was so heavy, what would the Fasces of the Consul have bin?

2. No less mean was the Gravity of *Scipio Æmilianus*, both in the Court, and in his Assembly-Speeches: Who, when *Mummius* was his companion in the Censorship, though noble, yet effeminate and weak, declar'd in a publick Speech before the *Rostra*, that he would have acted for the Majesty of the Commonwealth, whether his Citizens had given him a Companion or not.

The same person, when *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *Aurelius Cotta*, Consuls, contended in the Senate whether of the two should be sent against *Viriatus* into *Spain*, and that there hapned to be a great dissention among the Fathers, while they all expected him to declare his opinion; *I think it not fit that either of them should be sent*, said he, *in regard the one has nothing, and the other never knows when he has enough.*

Believing, that want and covetousness were Mistresses both alike unfit to teach good government. By which saying he obtain'd that neither were sent into the Province.

3. But *C. Popilius* being sent Embassadour to *Antiochus*, to command him to surcease the War which he wag'd against *Ptolomy*; when he came to him, and that the King with a cheatful and friendly Countenance held him out his right Hand, he would not give him his own again, but deliver'd him the Senates Letters: which when *Antiochus* had read, he told him, he would consult his Friends. But *Popilius* incens'd at his delay, *Before thou goest out of this circle*, said he, *give me the answer which I shall return to the Senate.* You would not have thought him an Embassadour that spoke, but the whole body of the Senate: For immediately the King affirm'd, that he would give no farther occasion for *Ptolomie*, to complain. And then at length *Popilius* took him by the hand as an Associate. Behold the force of a concise and efficacious Gravity of Mind and Speech! At the same time it terrified the Kingdom of *Syria*, and protected *Egypt*.

4. But I cannot tell whether I should first consider the Words or Deeds of *P. Rutilius*, for there lies an admirable stress in both. When he withstood the urgent request of a certain Friend, and the other very much offended upraided him in these words, What need have I then of thy friendship, if thou wilt not do for me what I desire? made this answer, *What need I of thine, if for thy sake I should do any unhandsome action?* To these words were agreeable those deeds, when rather through the dissention of the two Orders, than for any fault of his own, he was arraign'd, he neither put on sorry Cloaths, nor laid aside the Senatorian Ornaments, nor made any Supplication to the Judges, nor spoke any thing unworthy the splendour

of

of his past years: But so order'd it, that his Tryal was rather an Experiment, than any Impediment of his Gravity. And when *Sylla*'s Victories gave him liberty to return into his own Countrey, he rather chose to tarry in Banishment, than to do any thing against the Laws. And therefore more justly might we have given the Title of Happy to the Manners of so grave a Man, than to the prosperous Arms of the other more potent Conquerour. Which *Sylla* usurp'd, but *Rutilius* deserv'd.

5. *M. Brutus*, the Murtherer of his own Virtues, before he was the Parricide of the Parent of his Countrey (for by one foul deed he overthrew them all, and defil'd his memory with an unexpiable detestation), as he was going in to his last Battle, to some that told him it was not convenient to fight: *Boldly*, said he, *I go into the Battle; for this day either all things will be well, or I shall have nothing to care for.* For he presum'd he could not live without Victory, nor dye without Security.

For Raigners.

1. The person beforementioned puts me in mind to relate what was said to *Decius Brutus* in *Spain*. For when all *Lusitania* had surrendred it self to him, and only the City of *Cinninia* obstinately held out, and that the Consul thought to have bought them out, they presently made answer to his Commissioners, *That their Ancestors had only left them their Swords to defend their City, but no Money to purchase their Liberty from a covetous General.* A Saying more noble for *Romans* to have spoken, than to have heard from others.

2. Nature led them into these paths of Severity. But *Socrates*, the most famous Pillar of the *Grecian* Learning, when he was to plead his own Cause at *Athens*,

and that *Lycias* had repeated to him an Oration compos'd by himself, for him to make use of in the Court of Judicature, humble, suppliant, and accommodated to the danger that threatned him; *Take it away*, said he, *for if I could be brought where I might repeat it, in the farthermost deserts of* Scythia, *there I should think I deserved death.* He contemn'd Life, that he might not want Gravity; choosing rather to dye like *Socrates*, than to live like *Lysias*.

3. As great as he in Wisdome, *Alexander*, as great in War, shewed himself to be of the same mind. For *Darius* having tried his force in two Battles, and therefore offering him a part of his Kingdome, and his Daughter in Marriage with Ten Hundred thousand Talents; when *Parmenio* told him, that if he were *Alexander* he would accept the Condition: He made answer, *And so would I, were I* Parmenio. An expression worthy of the two Victories, and deserving the third which he obtain'd.

4. This was the effect of a magnanimous Minde in Prosperity; That more generous, whereby the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors testified to his Father the miserable condition of their fortune. For when he impos'd most intolerable Burthens upon their City, they made him answer, *That if he should persist to command them things more grievous than Death, they would prefer Death before his Commands.*

5. No less grave was the Saying of that *Spartan*, who excelling both in Nobility and Sanctity of Mind, being put by the Magistracy which he petition'd for; *I rejoyce exceedingly*, said he, *that my Countrey produces men more worthy than my self.* By which Speech he equall'd the honour he was put by.

CHAP. V.

Of Justice.

ROMANS.

1. *The People of* Rome.
2. *The four Tribunes of the People.*
3. Ti. Gracchus *Censor.*
4. *Colledge of Tribunes of the People.*
5. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
6. Licinius Crassus *the Orator.*
7. Cor. Sylla *Consul.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Pittacus *of* Mitylene.
2. Aristides *the* Athenian.
3. Zeleucus *the* Locrian.
4. Charundas *the* Thurian.

'TIs now time to enter the sacred recesses of Justice, where alwaies the respect of just and honest Actions is conversant with Religious Observation. Where Modesty is studied, and Desire gives way to Reason; there nothing is reputed profitable that is not honest. Of which our City among all Nations is the most certain and principal Example.

1. When *Camillus* the Consul besieg'd the *Falisci*, a School-master brought over to the *Roman* Camp several Youths, and those the most noble in the City, under pretence of taking them to walk abroad. Not questioning but they being in the power of the *Romans*, that the *Falisci* would submit themselves to our General. Upon which affair, after consultation, the Senate decreed that the Youths should be sent home, lashing their Master all the way, while his hands were tyed behind him. Which Justice of theirs overcame the Minds

Minds of those, whose Walls they were not able to expugn. For the *Falisci* overcome by their Kindnesses, not by their Arms, open'd their Gates to the *Romans*. The same City oftentimes rebelling, but alwaies broken by adverse Fortune, was at length constrained to yield to *Q. Lutatius* the Consul. Against which when the *Roman* People desir'd to have shewn the extremity of their Revenge, when they understood from *Papyrius*, who by the Consuls command had writ the Articles of Surrender, that the *Falisci* had surrender'd themselves to the Faith, not to the Power of the *Romans*, they laid aside all their Anger, lest they should be wanting to their Justice; suppressing the force of their Hatred, which is not easily overcome; and the pride of Victory, which easily begets Licentiousness. Another time when *P. Clandius* having by his prosperous conduct taken the *Camerini*, had sold them under the Spear according to custome, though thereby they saw their Exchequer filled with Money, and their Empire enlarged: yet because it did not seem to be done according to the Rules of Honour and Justice, they sought them diligently out, and redeemed them again; assigning them a place of habitation in *Aventinum*, and restoring them their Lands: They gave them Money also to build Chappels and purchase Sacrifices; and by their Justice gave the miserable an occasion to rejoyce in their destruction, being so rais'd again.

What I have related was confin'd within our own Walls and the neighbouring parts; what I now relate has flown over all the world. *Timochares* the *Ambracian* promis'd *Fabritius* the Consul, that he would poyson *Pyrrhus* by the assistance of his Son, who was his Cupbearer. Notice whereof being given to the Senate, they sent Embassadors to give *Pyrrhus* intelligence of it, admonishing him to be careful against such

such kind of treachery. Remembring that their City was built by the Son of *Mars*, and that War was to be carried on by Arms, and not by Poyson.

2. Admirable was the Justice of the four Tribunes of the People at the same time. For when *L. Hortensius* their Colleague had cited *C. Atratinus* (under whose comand they had rallyed the *Roman* Army, and restor'd the Battle against the *Volsci* at the Lake *Verrugo*) to appear before the People; they swore, that it would be a shame to them, if their General should be guilty. For those noble Gentlemen would not endure to behold him as a Gown-man under the last extremity, whose Life, when in Arms, they had defended with their own Wounds and Blood. Which Justice of theirs so moved the Assembly, that they caus'd *Hortensius* to desist.

3. Nor did they shew themselves less noble in that which follows. When *Titus Gracchus* and *C. Claudius* had exasperated the greatest part of the City, by carrying themselves so severely in the Censorship, *Rutilius* the Tribune accus'd them before the People of High-Treason; moved not only by the publick consternation, but his own private interest, because they had order'd a part of his wall to be pulled down for the benefit of some Publick-place. In which Judicature, while many Centuries of the first Classis openly condemn'd *Claudius*, but all consented to quit *Gracchus*; *Gracchus* cried out aloud, *That if his Colleague suffered, he would undergo the same punishment as he did.* Which Justice of his diverted the storm from both their heads and fortunes. For the People absolved *Claudius*, and *Rutilius* releas'd his Action against *Gracchus*.

4. The Colledge of Tribunes also got great applause: for when one of them, *L. Cotta* by name, under the protection of his sacred Authority, denyed to

pay

pay his Creditors, they decreed, that if he would neither pay his Debts nor give Security, they would assist the Creditors in their Appeal: thinking it unjust, that the publick Majesty should be a protection to private Knavery. Thus the Tribunitial Justice drew out *Cotta* lurking in the Sanctuary of his employment.

5. Of which to come to another Example, *Cn. Domitius* Tribune of the People cited *Marc. Scaurus* before the People, being then Prince of the City, to ruine him, if fortune had favour'd him; or at least to eclipse his renown by a Criminal Accusation. While he was thus eagerly thirsting after the blood of *Scaurus*, a Servant of *Scaurus* came to him by night, and promis'd him to discover many great and hainous Crimes, to advance his Accusation. As a Master and an Enemy he consider'd and weigh'd in his mind the Impeachment with different thoughts, Justice overcame his Hatred: For immediately shutting his own ears, and the Impeachers mouth, he caus'd him to be carried to *Scaurus*. An Accuser, I will not say, to be belov'd, but rather to be applauded by the person accus'd; whom the People, as well for his other Vertues, as also for this reason, created Consul, Censor, and High-Priest.

6. Nor did *L. Crassus* behave himself otherwise as to the same Example of Justice. He had alwaies born a most perfect hatred against the Name of *Carbo*, as his profest Enemy; and yet when a Servant of *Carbo's* brought him a Cabinet of his Masters, conteining several Writings, which he might have made use of to his ruine, he sent the Cabinet, lockt as it was, and his Servant bound, to his Master. What Justice may we conjecture then flourished among Friends, when Enemies and Impeachers one of another so nobly behav'd themselves!

7. *Sylla* desired not so much his own safety, as the ruine

ruine of *Sulpitius Rufus*, whose Tribunitial rage continually vex'd him. But when he was banish'd, and that he understood that he was betray'd by his own Servant, where he lay skulking; that the Fidelity and Justice of his Decree might be permanent, he caus'd the Freed-man for his perfidiousness to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock, together with his freed-mans Cap, which he had purchased by his Treachery. A most insolent Victor at other times, now most just in his Authority.

FOR RAIGNERS.

1. But that we may not seem to forget the Justice of Forreigners, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene* was one to whose merits his Citizens were either so much engaged, or else had so much confidence in his Vertues, that they offer'd him the Soveraign Authority of their City; which he so long kept as the War continued with the *Athenians* about the *Sygæum*, or possession of a piece of ground so called. But after he had by a Victory setled Peace, he presently resign'd his Authority against the will of the *Mitylenians*, that he might not be the Lord of his City any longer than the necessity of affairs requir'd. And when by the consent of all the People the half of the Land was offered him, he utterly refus'd the Gift; esteeming it below himself, to lessen the glory of his Vertue by the greatness of his Prey.

2. I must now relate the Prudence of another, that I may also relate the Justice of another. When *Themistocles* had given the *Athenians* wholesom advice to betake themselves to their Vessels, and after that *Xerxes* and his Army were driven out of *Greece* went about to restore the antient dignity of the City, and laid up Treasure secretly to raise his City to the Dominion over all *Greece*; he told the People in publick, that

that he had found out something, which if fortune would suffer it to be brought to pass, there could nothing happen greater or more for the honour of the *Athenian* People; but that it was not a thing to be divulged: and therefore desired them to appoint some person, to whom he might privately reveal it. *Aristides* was deputed. Who when he understood that *Themistocles* intended to have burnt all the *Lacedæmonian* Navy that lay in the Road of *Gytheum*, that it being destroyed, the Dominion of the Sea might belong to them; return'd to his fellow Citizens, and told them, *That* Themistocles *was hammering that which was very profitable, but very unjust.* Presently the whole Assembly, when they heard it was unjust, bid him say no more of it, and commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Enterprize.

3. Nothing more prevalent than the following Examples of Justice: *Zaleucus* the *Locrian* having strengthend his City with most profitable and wholesome Laws; when his Son, condemn'd for Adultery, according to the Law made by himself, was to have lost both his Eyes, and all the City interceded for the Son, for some time he obstinately refus'd it; but at length, constrain'd by the intreaty of the People, first putting out one of his own Eyes and then one of his Sons, he left the use of sight to both. Thus he rendered to the Law the punishment which it claimed, with a most admirable mixture of Justice; dividing himself into a merciful Father and a just Legislator.

4. But something more severe was the Justice of *Charundas* the *Thurian*. He had pacified the Harangues of his Citizens, that were seditious even to blood and violence, making a Law that if any person entred the Common-hall with his Sword on, he should be presently put to death. Some time after, having been in the Countrey and coming home, he presently call'd

a Hall, and forgetting himself enter'd the Hall with his Sword on. Whereupon being minded of the breach of his own Law, by one that stood next him; *Well*, said he, *the same person shall establish it*; and immediately drawing his Sword, fell upon it and died. When it was lawful for him to have defended or excused his errour, he rather chose to make the punishment publick, than put a slur upon Justice.

CHAP. VI.

Of Publick Faith.

Among the Romans.

1. *The* Roman *Senate.*
2. L. Manlius, M. Atilius *Cos.*
3. *The* Roman *Senate.*
4. *The Elder* Africanus.
5. *The* Roman *Senate.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1 *The* Saguntines.
2 *The* Petellines.

WHen this Image is set before our eyes, the venerable Divinity of Truth stretches out her right hand, the most certain pledg of humain Safety. Which how it has flourished in our City, all Nations have been sensible of, and we shall make evident in a few Examples.

1. When *Ptolomey* the King had left the People of *Rome* to take the tuition of his Son upon them, the Senate appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the High-Priest, to be Guardian to the young Infant, and sent him to *Alexandria* for that purpose; making use of the sanctity of a famous and most upright person, whose publick Abilities had been sufficienty known among them, lest the

the credit and dignity of the City ſhould have been any way injur'd. This became not only the preſervation, but the ornament of the Royal Infancy; ſo that when he came of age, he knew not of which he had moſt to boaſt, whether in the Fortune of his Father, or the Majeſty of his Tutor.

2. Famous alſo was the ſucceeding piece of *Roman* Integrity. A great Navy of the *Carthaginians* being overthrown near the Coaſt of *Sicilia*, the Captains of the Enemies, quite out of heart, began to think of making ſome overtures of Peace. But when it was argued who ſhould go, *Amilcar* refus'd, for fear leſt the *Romans* ſhould ſerve him as the *Carthaginians* had ſerved *Cor. Aſina* the Conſul, whom they had detain'd a Priſoner in Chains. But *Hanno*, better underſtanding the *Roman* Faith, very confidently profer'd himſelf. To whom as he was in treaty, when a Tribune of the People ſpoke, and bid him take heed he had not the ſame uſage as the Conſul *Cornelius* had had; both the Conſuls commanding the Tribune to be ſilent: Hanno, cryed they, *from that fear the reputation of our City frees thee.* It had made them famous, that they could be Maſters of ſo great a Captain of their Enemies; but much more famous, that they would not.

3. The ſame reputation the Conſcript Fathers obſerv'd in defending the Priviledges of Embaſſadors. For when *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius* were Conſuls, *Culeo* the Prætor by an order of the Senate caus'd *L. Minutius* and *L. Manlius* to be deliver'd to the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors by the Heralds themſelves, becauſe they had laid violent hands upon them. The Senate regarding more their own Honour, than the perſons for whoſe ſake they did the Juſtice.

4. Theſe Examples the Elder *Africanus* following, when he had taken a Veſſel wherein were ſeveral perſons, and many of the chiefeſt among the *Carthaginian*

ginian Nobility, yet he diſmiſs'd them all untoucht, becauſe they told him, they were ſent as Embaſſadors to him; though he knew it to be an excuſe of their own framing, to avoid the preſent danger; that the Faith of the *Roman* General might rather ſeem to be deceiv'd, than implor'd in vain.

5. Let us not forget that noble Act of the Senate, by no means to be omitted. *Q. Fabius* and *Cn. Apronius* Ædiles, by reaſon of a Tumult that happen'd, had ſent away the Embaſſadours that came from *Apollonia* to *Rome*. Which ſo ſoon as the Senate underſtood, they caus'd them to be deliver'd up to the Embaſſadours by the hands of the Heralds, and ſent a Queſtor to convoy them to *Brundusium*, leſt they ſhould receive any injury in their paſſage. Could ſuch a Court as that be ſaid to be a Council of mortal Men, and not rather the Temple of Faith? Which was no leſs admir'd by our Allies, than it was religiouſly obſerv'd in our City.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. For before the miſerable ſlaughter of the two *Scipio*'s in *Spain*, and the deſtruction of as many Armies of the *Roman* Nation, the *Saguntines* being reſtrain'd within their own Walls by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, when they could no longer reſiſt the *Carthaginian* power, they brought forth all their moſt precious things into the Market-place, and kindling the Pile, threw themſelves into the common and publick fire, that they might not be accompted falſe to our Alliance. I cannot but believe, that Faith her ſelf, ſurveying humane affairs, lookt with a ſorrowful countenance, beholding ſuch a religious obſervance of her Laws condemn'd by ſuch a fatal Event to the Arbitration of unjuſt Fortune.

2. By an act of the same nature, the *Petellines* obtain'd the same applause. Who being besieg'd by *Hannibal*, because they would not forsake our Alliance, sent Ambassadours to the Senate, imploring relief. But the *Romans*, because of their losses at *Cannæ*, not being able to succour them, gave them liberty to provide the best they could for their own safety. So that they were free to accept of Conditions from the *Carthaginians*. However, they, turning their Women, aged and infirm people out of the City, obstinately defended their Walls to the last: So that their whole City expir'd, before they would lay aside their respect to the *Roman* Alliance. Nor did *Hannibal* take *Petellia*, but the sepulchre of the *Petellian* Faith.

CHAP. VII.

Of the truth of Wives to their Husbands.

1. Æmilia, *the Wife of the Elder* Scipio.
2. Thuria, *the Wife of* Q. Lucretius Vespillo.
3. Sulpitia, *the Wife of* Lentulus.

1. THat we may not omit the Truth of Women in Matrimony, *Æmilia* the Wife of the Elder *Africanus*, the Mother of *Cornelia*, Mother of the *Gracchi*, was so dutiful and patient, that though she knew her Husband had a kindness for one of her Maids, she took no notice of it; because she would not blemish the Conquerour of *Africa* with the guilt of Unchastity. And so far she was from revenge, that after her Husbands death, she set her Maid free, and gave her in marriage to a Freed man of his.

2. When *Q. Lucretius* was banished by the Triumvirs, *Thuria*

Thuria his Wife kept him out of harms way, between the head of the Bed and the cieling of the Chamber, not without great danger to her self. And so true she was to him, that while others that were banish'd, as he was, wander'd in pinching extremity, in remote Countries among Enemies, he all the while lay safe in the bosome of his Wife.

3. *Sulpitia* being kept up very strictly by her Mother *Julia*, for fear she should follow her Husband *Lentulus Cruscellio*, banish'd by the Triumvirs into *Sicily*; nevertheless made her escape in a disguise, and with only two Maid-servants and two Men-servants got safe to him. Banishing her self, that she might not fail in her duty toward her Husband.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Fidelity of Servants to their Masters.

1. *The Servant of* M. Antonius *the Orator.*
2. *The Servant of* C. Marius.
3. Philocrates *the Servant of* C. Gracchus.
4. Pindarus *the Servant of* C. Cassius.
5. *The Family of* Plotius Plancus.
6. *The Servant of* Urbinius Anapio.
7. *The Servant of* Antius Restio.

IT remains that we relate the Fidelity of Servants to their Masters; so much the more praise-worthy, by how much it was least expected from them.

1. *Marcus Antonius*, a most celebrated Orator in the days of our Ancestors, was accus'd of Incest; whose Accusers were obstinately importunate with the Judges that his Servant might be examin'd for a witness;

becauſe they pretended that he carried the Lanthorn before him, when he went to commit the Fact. He was at that time a beardleſs Youth, and ſaw himſelf ready to be ſent to the Rack, yet never budg'd for it. But when he came home, and ſaw *Antonius* very much troubled about the buſineſs, he earneſtly begg'd of his Maſter, that he might be put to the Rack; affirming, that they ſhould not force a tittle out of his mouth to do him a prejudice. And with a wonderful patience he performed his promiſe: For being laſh'd with many ſtripes, ſet upon the Wooden-horſe, and ſear'd with burning plates of Iron, he overthrew the whole force of his Maſters accuſation, by ſtanding firm to his preſervation. Fortune might be deſervedly blam'd, for having impriſon'd ſo pious and ſtout a Soul in the Body of a Slave.

2. But the Conſul *C. Marius*, whoſe ill ſucceſs was miſerable at the Siege of *Præneſte*, ſeeing it in vain to eſcape through a little Myne under ground, and ſlightly wounded by *Theleſinus*, with whom he had deſigned to live, was run through and ſlain by his Servant, to free him from the cruelty of *Sylla*; though he had large promiſes made him, to deliver him up to the Victor. The ſeaſonable aſſiſtance of whoſe right hand, no way ſeems inferiour to the Piety of thoſe who have protected their Maſters in ſafety. Becauſe at that time not Life, but Death was moſt beneficial to *Marius*.

3. Equally illuſtrious was the following Example. *Caius Graechus*, that he might not fall into the power of his Enemies, laid his neck to be cut off by his Servant *Philocrates*. Which when he had cut off with a ſwift blow, he thruſt the Sword ſtill reaking with his Maſters blood into his own Bowels. Others call this Servant *Euporus*: I diſpute not about the name, only I admire the ſtoutneſs of a ſervile Fidelity; the nobleneſs of whoſe Soul had the generous Youth imitated, he

he had avoided the threatning danger, by the benefit of his own and not his Servants hand. But now he gave way that the Carcass of *Philocrates* should lye in more splendour than that of *Gracchus* his Master.

4. Another sort of Fury, and another sort of Nobility, but the same Example of Fidelity. For *Pindarus*, the Freed-man of *Cassius*, having slain his Master by his command, after he had lost the Battle of *Philippi*, preserv'd him from the insultings of his Enemies; nor was the Servant ever seen after. Which of the Gods, Revenger of the most hainous Crimes of Mortals, so benumb'd that Valour, that ventur'd to the destruction of the Parent of the Empire, that it should so abjectly trembling submit it self at the knees of *Pindarus*, to avoid the punishment of publick Parricide, which it deserv'd from the hands of a most pious Victor? Thou, thou it was, most divine *Julius*, that didst exact the revenge due to thy celestial wounds, compelling that proud Head, so perfidious to thee, to implore the sordid aid of a Slave, driven to that extremity of fury, that he neither desir'd to live, nor durst to dye by his own hand.

5. Of these calamities *C. Plotius Plancus*, the Brother of *Munatius Plancus* both Consul and Censor, was a sad partaker; who lurking in the Territories of *Salernum*, after he had been banish'd by the Triumvirs, discover'd the Sanctuary of his Safety by his effeminate way of living, and the odours of his sweet Oyntments. For thereby the industrious care of those that persecute the miserable, smelt out his secret haunts: By whom the Servants being apprehended, and long tortur'd, denied they knew where their Master was. Then would not *Plancus* endure that Servants, so faithful and exemplary, should be any longer tormented; but discover'd himself, and offer'd his Throat to the Souldiers weapons. Which

contest of mutual good Will, makes it difficult to be decided, whether the Master were more worthy, who had the trial of such a constant Fidelity in his Servants; or the Servants, who were freed from the severity of the Rack, by the just compassion of their Master.

6. What shall I say to the Servant of *Urbinius Panopio*, how admirable was his Faith? Who understanding that certain Souldiers, having found where his Master was, by the treachery of his Servants, were come to the Town of *Reate* to kill him, changing his Garments with him, and putting on his own Ring, he put his Master out at a Back-door, and retiring himself into his Masters Chamber and into his Masters Bed, suffered himself patiently to be kill'd in lieu of *Panopio*. The act is soon related, but the commendation which it deserves is not so easily given. However, *Panopio* testified how much he was beholding to his Servant, by rasing him an ample Monument, with a grateful Inscription.

7. I might be contented with these Examples; but the wonder of the Fact compells me to relate one more. *Anius Restio* being proscrib'd by the Triumviri, when he saw all his Servants busie upon rapine and ransack, in a tempestuous night withdrew himself from his House. Whose flight being observ'd by a Slave that he had kept severely in Chains, and one that he had burnt in the Forehead with contumelious Letters; the Slave never left till he had overtaken him, to the end he might attend him in his misery. By which most exquisite and dangerous officiousness, he compleated the full measure of a most signal Piety. For when they, whose condition was better at home, minded nothing but the ransack of their Master, he thought the safety of that person, who had been so cruel to him, to be the greatest profit he could enjoy. And when it had been enough to have laid aside his

Anger, he added Charity. Nor did his good Will end here, but he us'd a Stratagem to preserve his Master. For when he perceiv'd the Souldiers were at hand, he hid his Master, and making a Funeral Pile, got a poor old man whom he slew and threw him into the flame. When the Souldiers ask'd him for *Antius*; pointing to the Pile, *I have thrown him*, said he, *into that Pile, for his cruelty to me.* The Souldiers, believing the probability of the Story, went their way; whereby *Antius* had time to provide for his safety.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Change of Manners and Fortune.

Among the ROMANS.

1. T. Manlius Torquatus.
2. P. Africanus *the Elder.*
3. C. Valerius Flaccus *the Flamin.*
4. Q. Fabius Maximus.
5. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
6. L. Cornelius Scylla *the Happy.*
7. T. Aufidius.
8. P. Rupilius.
9. P. Ventidius Bassus.
10. L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.
11. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina.
12. Licinius Crassus *the Rich.*
13. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
14. C. Marius.
15. C. Julius Cæsar.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Polemon *the* Athenian.
2. Themistocles *the* Athenian.
3. Conon *the* Athenian.
4. Alcibiades.
5. Polycrates.
6. Dionysius *of* Syracuse.
7. Syphax *King of the* Numidians.

A Considerate Change can either adde much to the Trust, or diminish the Care of worthy men; whether-

whether we consider our own condition, or the nature of others: For when we perceive some to have risen from low and contemptible beginnings, why should we not then have better thoughts of our selves? Knowing, that it is a foolish thing, to forejudge ones self of perpetual infelicity, and to change our hope, which sometimes rightly favours uncertain things, into certain desperation.

1. *Manlius Torquatus*, when he was a Youth, was look'd upon to be of so dull and heavy a disposition, that he was sent into the Countrey by his Father *Lucius Manlius*, a person of great worth, to follow the Plow, as being unfit either for publick or private business. Afterwards he pleaded for his Father, being accus'd for some misdemeanour, and carried the Cause for him. He cut off his Sons head, though a Victor, because he had fought against his command with the Enemy: and with a most splendid Triumph, he reviv'd his Countrey groaning under the *Latin* War. Thus his adverse Fortune clouded him in his Youth, that he might shine more glorious in his Elder Years.

2. *Scipio Africanus* the Elder, whom the Immortal Gods decreed to be born, that there might be a person in whom Vertue might shew it self in all its variety, is reported to have led a debauch'd life in his younger years; remote from the crime of Luxury, yet more soft and idle than his *Punic* Trophies, or his yoaking the conquer'd *Carthaginians*.

3. *C. Valerius Flaccus* also, in the time of the Second *Punic* War, began with a lewd course of life: But being chosen Flamen by *P. Licinius* the High-Priest, to the end he might reclaim him; applying himself to the care of the sacred things, and the observation of the religious Rites, and guided by Religion it self, the Captain of Frugality, he became as great

great an Example of Sobriety and Piety, as he was before of Luxury.

4. No person led a more debauch'd Life than Q. *Fabius Maximus*, who afterwards by the signal Victory which he obtain'd against the *Gauls*, purchas'd to himself and his posterity the Sirname of *Allobrogicus*. Yet in his elder years, our City could boast of no such Ornament as he was, nor was any person so renowned as he.

5. Who is ignorant how highly the Authority of Q. *Catulus* was advanc'd, at that very time when there was a crowd of famous men living? Whose younger years you will finde to have been guilty of much Luxury and Softness. Which however was no impediment to him, but that he became the Prince of his Countrey, had the honour to have his name shine in the Capitol, and by his own courage to bury a Civil War that was rising with a mighty force to seize the Commonwealth.

6. But *L. Sylla*, till he came to be Questor, led a life infamous for his Whoring, Gaming and Drinking. Whereupon it was reported, that *Marius* being engag'd in a very smart War in *Africa*, complain'd that they had sent him such an effeminate Questor. But his Vertue, having as it were broken down the fences of wickedness, made a shift to chain the hands of *Jugurth*, quell *Mithridates*, withstand the billows of the War of our Allies, break the power of *Cinna*, and compel him that had despis'd him, when his Questor in *Africa*, to fly a proscrib'd Exile into the same Province for safety. Which so various and so contrary acts, he that shall with a serious minde consider, would believe there were two *Sylla*'s in one man. I would have call'd him a *vicious youth*, but a *brave man*, had he not himself assum'd the title of *Happy*.

7. And as we have admonish'd Nobility to regard itself

itſelf by the benefit of repentance, let us adde a few Examples of thoſe that dar'd aſpire from meaner beginnings. *T. Anfidius*, who once had the gathering but of a ſmall pittance of the *Aſiatic* Tribute, afterwards rul'd all *Aſia*, as Conſul. Nor did our Allies diſdain to obey his Faſces, whom they had ſeen flattering the Tribunals of Forreigners. For he behavd himſelf faithfully and nobly: plainly demonſtrating, that his former way of living, was only the effect of Fortune; but that the preſent advancement of his Dignity, was to be attributed to the greatneſs of his parts.

8. *Publius Rupilius* was no Toll-gatherer in *Sicilia*, but only a mean Officer under them; ſo miſerable poor, that he had nothing to keep Life and Soul together, but a ſmall Office that depended upon the leave of the vanquiſh'd. Yet from him, Conſul afterwards, all *Sicilia* receiv'd their Laws, after he had freed them from the terrors of a ſmart War of the Pirats and Fugitives. I believe that the very Ports themſelves, if there be any ſence in mute things, admir'd the wonderful change in the Condition of that man. For the ſame perſon that they had ſeen exacting the dayly Cuſtoms, the ſame perſon they ſaw giving Laws to Navies and Armies.

9. To this increaſe of Dignity I will adde a greater. When *Aſculum* was taken, *Cn. Pompeius*, the Father of *Pompey* the Great, proſtituted to the eyes of the People *P. Ventidius*, a beardleſs Youth, in the Triumph that he had obtain'd. Yet this was that *Ventidius*, who afterwards triumph'd at *Rome* over the *Parthians*, and reveng'd the death of *Craſſus*, miſerably foyl'd in a ſtrange Countrey. Thus he that a Captive dreaded impriſonment, now a Victor crowns the Capitol with his ſucceſs. And this is farther remarkable of the ſame perſon, that he was made Pretor

Prætor and Conſul both in one and the ſame year.

10. Now let us conſider the diverſities of Chance. *L. Lentulus* was depos'd by the *Cæcilian* Law, of his Conſulſhip, being convicted of Bribery, and yet was created Cenſor with *L. Cenſorinus*. Thus Fortune ſhuffl'd him between Honour and Diſgrace; condemning him in his Conſulſhip, and honouring him with the Office of Cenſor when he was condemn'd; neither ſuffering him to enjoy a laſting happineſs, nor long to abide in a miſerable condition.

11. Thus Fortune ſhew'd her power alſo in *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Aſina*. Who when he was Conſul, being taken by the *Carthaginians* at *Liparæ*, and had loſt all by the right of War, yet by the favour of Fortune recovered all, and was again created Conſul. Who would have thought he ſhould have been brought from the Faſces to the Fetters of the *Carthaginians*? Who would have thought again, that from the *Punic* chains he ſhould have advanc'd himſelf to the higheſt degrees of Honour? But yet he was from a Conſul made a Captive, and from a Captive became Conſul.

12. What? Did not the vaſtneſs of *Craſſus* Wealth give him the Sirname of *Rich*? Yet Poverty afterwards laid upon him the ſhameful title of a *Bankrupt*; his Goods being ſold by his Creditors, becauſe he could not pay the principal; beſide the bitter Sarcaſme wherewith every one that met him, ſaluted him, calling him ſtill, *Rich* Craſſus.

13. *Q. Cæpio* excels *Craſſus* in ſeverity of Fortunes inconſtancy. For he having obtain'd the ſplendour of the Prætorſhip, the renown of a Triumph, the dignity of a Conſulſhip, the glory of the High-Prieſthood, inſomuch that he was call'd *The Patron of the Senate*; yet died in Jayl, and his Body tortur'd and dilacerated by the cruel hand of the Hangman, became a ſpectacle of horror to the *Roman* People in the publick place of Execution.

14. The

14. The Life of *Marius* was a ſtrange conteſt with Fortune; for he withſtood all her oppoſition with a ſtoutneſs of mind and body. Being thought unworthy the low honours of an *Arpinate* (for whom it was not lawful to aſpire high) he ventur'd to ſtand for the Queſtorſhip at *Rome*. And by his patience in bearing repulſes, he rather broke by force, than was admitted into the Senate. He had the ſame repulſes when he ſtood for the Tribuneſhip and Ædileſhip in the Field of *Mars*. Standing for the Prætorſhip, he carried the loweſt degree, which notwithſtanding he obtain'd with great difficulty; for being accus'd for bribing Voices, he was hardly acquitted by the Judges. Yet from that *Marius*, ſo meanly born at *Arpinum*, ſo deſpiſed at *Rome*, and ſo abhorr'd a Candidate, ſprung that *Marius* who ſubdu'd *Africa*, drove King *Jugurth* before his Chariot in Triumph, who utterly ſubdued the Armies of the *Teutons* and *Cimbrians*, whoſe two Triumphs were beheld in the City, and whoſe ſeaven Conſulſhips were regiſter'd in the Annal-Books; who had the luck to be created Conſul returning from Baniſhment, and to proſcribe his Proſcriber. What more mutable or inconſtant than his condition? Who among the miſerable was moſt miſerable, yet among the fortunate ſhall be found moſt fortunate.

15. But *Julius Cæſar*, whoſe Vertues gave him admiſſion into Heaven, at the beginning of his youth going into *Aſia*, being taken by Sea-Rovers, was forced to redeem himſelf for fifty Talents. For ſo ſmall a ſum as that, would Fortune have the brighteſt Conſtellation in the world ſold in the Pyrats Market. Why then ſhould we complain of her, when ſhe ſpares not the aſſociates of her Divinity? But the celeſtial Numen reveng'd his own injury: For preſently after purſuing the ſlaves, and taking them, he crucified them every man.

FOR-

FORRAIGNERS.

1. We have been intent in relating our own, let us be more ſuccinct in the repetition of Forreign Examples. *Polemo*, a young *Athenian* Gentleman, but infinitely debauch'd, and one that gloried in his ſhame, riſing from a Banquet, not after Sun-ſet, but after Sun-riſing, as he went home ſaw *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher's door ſtanding wide open. Drunk as he was, richly perfum'd, gayly clad, and with his Garland upon his Head, he enter'd the School, that was full of Grave and Learned Men; and nothing aſham'd of the manner of his entry, he ſate down to throw his drunken Jeſts upon the noble Diſputes and wholeſom Precepts that were then utter'd. The company being offended, *Xenocrates* kept his temper, and began to diſpute of Modeſty and Temperance. The Gravity of whoſe Speech cauſing *Polemo* to repent, he firſt threw his Garland to the ground, preſently after he withdrew his arms (*a token of Modeſty among the* Athenians) under his Cloak; ſhortly after he left his feaſting Mirth; and laſtly, laid aſide all his Debauchery; and being cur'd with the wholeſome Medicine of one Oration, of an infamous Glutton became a famous Philoſopher. For his minde was only a Pilgrim in wickedneſs, not an Inhabitant.

2. It troubles me to remember *Themiſtocles* in his Youth; whether I conſider his Father that diſinherited him, or his Mother that hang'd herſelf to ſee the wicked courſe of life her Son led; when he himſelf afterwards became the moſt famous perſon that ever *Greece* brought forth; and was the pledge either of hope or deſpair between *Aſia* and *Europe*. For the one had him the Patron of her Safety, the other entertain'd him as the Surety of Victory.

3. *Cimon*

3. *Cimon* in his youth was look'd upon as a fool; but the *Athenians* found the benefit of his fooliſh commands: Compelling them to condemn themſelves of ſtupidity, who had accus'd him of Folly.

4. Two diſtinct Fortunes, ſhar'd *Alcibiades* between them. The one, that aſſign'd him a ſplendid Nobility, vaſt Wealth, Beauty incomparable, ſtrength of Body, a moſt piercing Wit, and the paſſionate love of his Countrey-men: The other, that inflicted upon him Condemnaton, Baniſhment, Sale of his Eſtate, Poverty, the hatred of his Countrey, and a violent Death. Neither the one nor the other altogether, but by intermiſſion, like the ebbing and flowing of the Sea.

5. *Polycrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*, lived in ſuch a prodigality of Fortunes favours, that he was admir'd even to Envy, not without cauſe; his endeavors all proſper'd; his hopes reap'd the fruit of what they deſired; his wiſhes were no ſooner nam'd than granted: To deſire, and be able to perform, was the ſame thing. Once only Fortune chang'd her coutenance, when he threw a Ring, which he highly eſteem'd, into the Sea, that he might not be ſaid to have undergone no misfortune; which however he preſently recover'd, the fiſh being taken that had ſwallowed it. But he could not always hold this proſperous courſe of felicity, that ſwell'd his full ſails: For *Orontes*, one of *Darius*'s Commanders, having taken him, caus'd him to be crucified upon the higheſt top of the *Mycalenſian* Mountain. From whence the City of *Samos*, long oppreſſed by his ſevere Tyranny, with the joyful eyes of freemen beheld his ſtinking Arteries, his members beſmear'd with Blood, and that left hand, to whom *Neptune* had reſtor'd the Ring by the hand of the Fiſherman, the ſad ſpectacle of Misfortune.

6. *Dionyſius* alſo when he had enter'd upon the Tyranny

Tyranny of *Sicily*, by his Fathers Will, the Lord of a vaſt Wealth, a Captain of Armies, an Admiral of a Navy, potent in Horſe, yet was forced to teach School at *Corinth*, for his livelihood: And at the ſame time, of a Tyrant being now become a School-maſter, he warn'd his Elders by ſuch a change, how little they were to truſt to Fortune.

7. Next to him follows *Syphax* the King, who underwent the ſame ſeverity of Fortune; to whom however at the ſame time, *Rome* by *Scipio*, *Carthage* by *Aſdrubal*, made their addreſſes for his Friendſhip. But while he ſtood thus courted, that he ſeem'd to be an Arbiter of Victory between the greateſt and moſt potent People in the world; In a ſhort time after, he was brought chain'd by *Lælius* to *Scipio*, and now lyes proſtrate at the feet of him, whom he thought it favour enough before, as he ſate upon his Throne, to take by the hand. Thus meerly vain, and fragil, and like the baubles Children play with, are thoſe great things which we call Human Power and Wealth: On a ſuddain they abound, and vaniſh as ſoon: In no place or perſon fix'd upon a ſtable foundation; but toſs'd hither and thither by the uncertain ſtate of Fortune, miſerably they precipitate them into the depth of Calamity, whom but now they had exalted as high as Heaven. And therefore they are neither to be eſteemed nor accompted Felicity, which to the end they may redouble a deſire of enjoying them, are wont to oppreſs with a heavier weight, thoſe that they flatter'd before with their moſt indulgent favours.

CHAP.

LIB. VII.

CHAP. I.

Of Happineſs.

1. Q. Metellus *the* Macedonian. 2. Gyges *the King of* Lydia.

WE have related ſeveral Examples of the Inconſtancy of Fortune; for there are very few that render her propitious. Whereby it is evident that ſhe is generous and free of her Adverſity, but very ſparing of her Proſperity.

1. Let us ſee then with how many degrees of favour ſhe proſecuted *Metellus* from his Infancy to his Death, with an inceſſant indulgence. She gave him his birth in the Capital City of the World: She gave him moſt noble Parents: She furniſh'd him with admirable parts of Nature, and ſtrength of Body: She married him to a Wife conſpicuous for her Chaſtity & Fertility: She grac'd him with the Honour of Conſulſhip, the Imperatorian Dignity, and the Splendour of a renowned Triumph: She ſo order'd it, that at the ſame time he had three Sons living, Conſular men; one alſo a Cenſor and Triumpher; and the fourth a Pretor. She married him Three Daughters, whoſe Iſſue he received into his own boſom: And among all theſe Children born, ſo many Youths coming to age, ſo many Nuptial Torches, ſuch an abundance of Honour, Empire and Congratulation, not one Funeral, not one Tear, or the leaſt cauſe

cauſe of Sadneſs. Conſider the Heavens, and we ſhall hardly meet with ſo perdurable a condition there; while we finde the greateſt Philoſophers lodging grief and pain in the very breaſts of the Gods. Nor was his end unlike the courſe of his Life. For after he had liv'd a fair age, an eaſie Death carried him off from the laſt farewels and embraces of his deareſt Pledges; and he was carried to his Funeral-Pile upon the ſhoulders of his Sons and Sons-in-Law through the City.

2. A noble Felicity this; yet the following was preſer'd by the Divinity it ſelf. For when *Gyges*, puft up with the riches and power of his Kingdom of *Lydia*, went to enquire of *Pythian Apollo*, whether any Mortal was happier than he; The God made anſwer with a low voice, from the hollow retirement of his ſacred Den, that *Aglaus Sophidius* was more happy than he. He was the pooreſt of the *Arcadians*, but the elder of the two: one that never had increas'd the bounds of his own land; contented with the Income of a poor Farm. But *Apollo* meant the true, not the obſcure end of a happy Life: and therefore gave that anſwer to one that inſolently gloried in the ſplendour of his fortune, That he rather approv'd a Cottage in a calm ſecurity of content, than the cares and anxieties of a Court; a few clods of earth void of fear, than all the fertile Acres of *Lydia* incumber'd with continual dread; and one or two yoak of Oxen eaſily maintain'd, than Armies of Horſe and Foot, burthenſome even to vaſt expences; and a ſmall Barn ſubject to no mans Envy, than Exchequers expoſed to the covetous deſires and rapacious violence of all men. Thus while *Gyges* labours to finde a God to favour his vain opinion, he learns wherein the true and ſolid Happineſs conſiſts.

CHAP. II.

Of things wisely said or done.

By the ROMANS.

1. App. Claudius.
2. P. Scipio Africanus.
3. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
4. L. Fimbria.
5. Papyrius Cursor.
6. *The Senate of* Rome.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Socrates *the* Athenian.
2. Solon *the* Athenian.
3. Bion *of* Prienne.
4. Plato *of* Athens.
5. Antigonus *the King.*
6. Xenocrates *the Philosopher.*
7. Aristophanes *the Comedian.*
8. Thales *the Philosopher.*
9. Anaxagoras *of* Clazomene.
10. Demas *the* Athenian.
11. Anacharsis *the* Scythian.
12. Agesilaus *the* Spartan.
13. Hanno *the* Carthaginian.
14. Herennius Pontius *the* Samnite.
15. *The* Cretans.

I Will now treat of that sort of Felicity, which is altogether in the habit of the Minde, and is not to be obtain'd by wishes, but is bred in the breasts of men, and advances it self by things famously said or done.

1. It is reported that *Appius Claudius* was often wont to say, *That the People of* Rome *were better to be trusted with Businesse than Idlenesse:* Not but that they understood the pleasure of a calm condition, but because he found that potent Empires were excited to Vertue, by the vicissitude and agitation of Human Affairs. And certainly Businesse, terrible to name, pre-

serv'd

ſerv'd the cuſtoms of our City in their beſt condition but Reſt, that has a ſofter name, firſt fill'd it full of Vice.

2. *Scipio Africanus* was wont to ſay, *That in affairs of War, it was a ſhameful thing to cry, I had not thought.* Believing that the tranſactions of the Sword ought to be carried on with a ſerious and well-examin'd deliberation. For that Errour is never to be retriev'd, that is committed in the heat of War. The ſame perſon denied that an Enemy was to be fought with, but only when there was a kind opportunity, or a preſſing neceſſity. Both prudently ſaid. For to omit an opportunity of acting with ſucceſs, is the greateſt madneſs in the world: And he that is compell'd to a neceſſity of giving Battle, yet abſtains from fighting, ſhews a piece of ſloath of a peſtiferous conſequence. And of thoſe that commit theſe abſurdities, one part knows not how to make uſe of the benefit of Fortune, the other knows not how to reſiſt the injury of Fortune.

3. It was alſo both a grave and lofty Sentence, which *Metellus* ſpoke in the Senate. Who upon the ruine of *Carthage* plainly confeſs'd, That he knew not whether that Victory might bring more advantage or more miſchief to the Commonwealth. For as it was advantageous by the Peace which it occaſion'd, ſo by removing *Hannibal*, it had done harm. For by his March into *Italy*, the ſleeping Courage of the *Romans* was rows'd up: And it was to be fear'd, that being freed from ſo formidable a Rival, it would relapſe into its former drowzineſs. So that he reckon'd it to be as great a miſchief for the Nerves of their antient ſtrength to be weaken'd, as for their Houſes to be burnt, their Lands to be laid waſte, and their Treaſures to be emptied.

4. How prudent an act was that of *Fimbria* the

Conſul! Who being made an Arbitrator by *M. Lutatius Pythia*, a *Roman* Knight, upon a Security that he had given to an Adverſary of his, that he was an honeſt Man, would never deliver his judgment, leſt he ſhould injure the fame of a perſon unblemiſh'd by pronouncing againſt him, or affirm him to be a good man, conſidering how many qualities were requir'd to make a man ſuch.

5. From the Civil, we will exhibit a Military Act of Prudence. *Papirius Curſor*, Conſul, deſirous to riſe from the Siege of *Aquilonia* to give the Enemy battle, was told by the Augur that the Entrails of the Fowl promis'd all things proſperouſly, when there was no ſuch thing. Afterwards being inform'd of the fallacy, he took it however for a good Omen to him and his Army, and gave Battle: But he placed the Impoſtor in the Fore-front, that the Gods, if angry, might revenge themſelves upon the right perſon. And it hapned ſo, whether by Chance or by divine Providence, that the firſt Dart which was thrown by the Enemy, hit the Impoſtors Breaſt, and ſtruck him dead. Which when the Conſul underſtood, with a renew'd confidence, he fell upon the Enemy, and took *Aquilonia*. So ſuddenly did he apprehend, which way the injury done to the General was to be reveng'd; how violated Religion was to be expiated; and how Victory was to be obtain'd. He acted the part of a ſevere Man, a religious Conſul, and a ſtout General: with one kind of thought forcing at the ſame time the limits of fear, the manner of puniſhment, and the means of hope.

6. Now I will paſs to the Acts of the Senate. When the Senate ſent *Claudius Nero* and *Livius Salinator* Conſuls againſt *Hannibal*, and found that as they were equal in Virtue, ſo they were at as great an enmity one with another; they made it their buſineſs to

to make them friends, that they might not neglect the publick for their private diſſentions. For unleſs there be a true concord in ſuch Commands, there is a greater deſire to keep another from doing good, than to act well themſelves: But where there is an inveterate Hatred, they are greater Enemies to one another, than the Adverſary they go to fight with. Thoſe very men being accuſed by *Cn. Babius*, a Tribune of the People, for their Severity in the Cenſorſhip, were by the Decree of the Senate freed from coming to their Tryal: freeing from the fear of Judgment that Honour, which was to take, not to give an accompt. The ſame Wiſdome of the Senate put *Ti. Gracchus* the Tribune to Death, for daring to promulgate the *Agrarian* Law: yet moſt prudently order'd, that the Land ſhould be divided to every man by the Triumvirs, according to the Law. Thus, at the ſame time, they took away both the Author and the Cauſe of a moſt turbulent Sedition.

How prudently did the Senate behave themſelves to King *Maſſiniſſa!* For when they had experienc'd the faithful and ready ſervice which he had done them againſt the *Carthaginians*, they made a Law, whereby they gave *Maſſiniſſa* a freedom abſolute from the power of the People of *Rome*. By which act, they not only reclaim'd the kindneſs of a perſon, who had ſo well deſerv'd of them, but ſecur'd themſelves from the barbarity of the *Numidians*, *Mauritanians* and other Nations adjoyning, who before would never reſt at peace.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. I ſhould want time to relate Domeſtic Examples: For our Empire increaſes and protects it ſelf, not only by ſtrength of body, but by vigour of minde. There-

fore let the *Roman* Prudence be silently for the most part laid up in admiration, and give way to forreign Examples of this nature. *Socrates*, a kind of terrestrial Oracle of humane Wisdome, was wont to say, *That there was nothing more to be ask'd of the Immortal Gods, but that they would be pleased to give us what things were good for us.* In regard they knew what was profitable for every one; but for our parts we beg those things oft-times, which it were better we should be without. For, oh thou mind of Mortals, wrapt up in thick clouds of darkness, how dost thou diffuse thy blind Prayers into wide Errour! Thou coveteſt Riches, so pernitious to thousands. Thou desireſt Honors, fatal to Multitudes. Thou grappleſt Kingdoms, as oftentimes orewhelm'd with calamity. Thou layſt hands upon splendid Wedlocks, which as they ennoble, as oftentimes overturn whole Families. Ceaſe then fooliſhly to gape after the future causes of many miſchiefs, as the only happineſſes to be enjoy'd; but submit thy ſelf to the judgment of Heaven. For they that are able to give, are beſt able to make the choice.

He was also wont to say, *That they took a very short and compendious way to Honour, who so behaved themſelves, as to be really such, as they would seem to be.* Whereby he openly admoniſh'd us, that men should rather follow Virtue it ſelf, than the shadow of Virtue. The same perſon, when a Youngman ask'd him Whether he should Marry, or altogether abſtain from Wedlock, made him anſwer, *That let him do which he would, he should be sure to repent. For on the one hand*, said he, *there is ſolitude, want of Children, extinction of Family, and a mans eſtate heir'd by a ſtranger: On the other hand, perpetual ſollicitation, continual wrangling, twittings in the teeth about the Dower, the frowns*

frowns of Kindred, the twatling of the Mother-in-Law, the private friend, and ambushments of Cuckoldry, with the uncertain hopes of Children. Thus he would not suffer the Young-man, in a contexture of bad accidents, to make his choice in a matter of pleasure and delight.

The same person, when the wicked fury of the *Athenians* had pronounced Sentence against his Life, and that he had received the venemous Potion given him by the hand of the common Executioner, with a stout and constant resolution, putting the Cup to his mouth, made this answer to his Wife *Xantippe*, crying out in the midst of tears and lamentations that he died innocently; *What then?* said he, *hadst thou rather I should have died an offender?* Oh profound Prudence, that! that would not forget it self, at the very Exit of Life.

2. How wisely did *Solon* aver, *That no man could be accompted happy, while he was yet alive!* being subject to the doubtful chances of fortune, even to the last gasp. Therefore doth the Funeral-Pile consummate the extent of Humane Felicity, which exposes it self to all the assaults of Misfortune. The same person, when he beheld one of his Friends in a deep affliction, brought him to a high Tower, and bid him survey every part of the lower Buildings: which when he had done, *Consider now with thy self*, said he, *how many occasions of lamentation formerly there were, and still are in those meaner roofs, and will happen hereafter, and cease to bewail the common inconveniencies of Mortals.* By which act of consolation he shewed, that Cities were but the miserable cages of human Miseries. The same person was wont to say, *That if all people were bound to make a heap of their misfortunes in one place, it would so happen, that every man would*

rather carry his own home again, than bear his share of the common heap. From whence he collected, that we ought not to accompt those things most intolerably bitter, which we suffer by chance.

3. *Bias*, when the Enemy had invaded his own native Countrey *Priene*, and that all people whom the ravage of War suffered to get safe away were upon their flight, laden with the weight of what they esteem'd most precious, being asked why he carried away nothing of his own Goods; *I*, said he, *carry all my Goods about me.* For he carried them in his Breast, not upon his Shoulders; not to be seen by the Eye, but to be prized by the Minde: Which being preserv'd in the little Sanctuary of the Minde, are not to be injur'd by the hands either of Gods or Mortals: and as they are always at hand with them that tarry, so they never desert them that flie.

4. Short in words, but abounding in sence was the Sentence of *Plato*, who said, *The world would then be happy, when wise men reigned, or Kings began to be wise.*

5. Of a piercing judgment also was that King, to whom, as they report, when the Diadem was brought, before he put it upon his Head, he held it in his hand, and having a long time paus'd upon it, *Oh noble rather than fortunate Linnen*, cryed he, *which he that knew with what cares, dangers, and miseries it was attended, would not take it up from the ground.*

6. How much to be applauded was the answer of *Xenocrates!* who being present at the reviling speeches of another with a seal'd-up silence, and ask'd why he curb'd his tongue so, being alone, made answer, *Because he had once repented him of speaking, but never of holding his tongue.*

7. The Precept also of *Aristophanes* is more exalted-

ly

ly prudent, who in one of his Comedies brings in *Pericles* the *Athenian* ſent back from Hell, and prophecying that a Bear was not to be cheriſh'd in the City. Admoniſhing, that the active Wits of noble and ſtirring youth ought to be curb'd: but being fed with over-much favour and profuſe indulgence, let them not be hinder'd from gaining the Supreme Power. For it is a vain and unprofitable thing to reſiſt that force which is foſter'd by thy ſelf.

8. Wonderfully *Thales*; who being asked whether the deeds of men eſcap'd the knowledg of the Gods; *Not their premeditated acts*, ſaid he. Intimating, that we ought not only to preſerve our hands clean, but our minds pure, if we believe our thoughts to be known to the Gods.

No leſs prudent is that which follows: The Father of an only Child conſulted *Themiſtocles*, whether he ſhould marry her to a poor learned Man, or a rich Man of no eſteem? To whom, *I had rather chooſe a man*, ſaid he, *wanting Money, than Money wanting a Man.* By which ſaying he admoniſh'd a fool to chooſe a Son-in-Law, before the Wealth of a Son-in-Law.

Much to be applauded was that Epiſtle of *Philip*, wherein he chides *Alexander*, endeavouring to ingratiate himſelf with large gifts into the hearts of ſome of the *Macedonians*: *What reaſon, Son, perſwaded thee to this vain hope, That thou ſhouldſt think thoſe perſons will be faithful to thee, whoſe kindneſs thou art forced to purchaſe with Money? Love only breeds love.* Yet was *Philip* rather a Purchaſer, than a Victor of *Greece*.

But *Ariſtotle*, when he ſent his Diſciple *Calliſthenes* to *Alexander*, admoniſh'd him either to ſay nothing to the King, or elſe to talk pleaſantly. But he for reproving him, becauſe he prided himſelf to hear the *Mace-*

Macedons, salute him after the manner of the *Persian* flattery, and for that he sought to reclaim him against his will, to the antient Customes of his Forefathers, being commanded to be put to death, too late repented his neglect of the wholesome counsel that had bin given him.

Thus *Aristotle* taught, that it became not him to speak either way of himself: For to praise himself was a vanity; to speak ill of himself, a folly. A most wholesome Precept was it of his likewise, That we should consider Pleasures that were passing off. Which by so representing he diminish'd; for so he expos'd them fainting and full of repentance, which render'd them the less desirable.

9. No less prudence was it in *Anaxagoras*, who being ask'd whom he thought the happiest person: *None of those*, said he, *whom thou imagin'st happy; but thou shalt finde him among the number of those whom thou accompteſt unfortunate.* Not the person that abounds in Riches, but the manurer of a small Farm, or the faithful and persevering observer of unambitious Maximes; more happy in retirement than in outward shew.

10. Wise was the saying of *Demas* also. For the *Athenians* denying to attribute divine Honours to *Alexander*; *Take heed*, said he, *lest while you are so careful to keep Heaven, you loose the Earth.*

11. How subtily did *Anacharsis* compare the Laws to Spiders Webs? For as they detain'd the weaker Animals, and let go the stronger; so the other bound the poor and needy, and let go the rich and potent.

12. Nothing more prudent than that act of *Agesilaus*: For having discovered a Conspiracy against the *Lacedæmonians* by night, he presently abrogated the Laws

Laws of *Lycurgus*, that forbid the punishment of those that were not condemn'd. But having apprehended and put to death the Offenders, he presently restor'd them again: providing both ways, that wholesome punishment should not be thought unjust, nor be prevented by Law. Therefore that they might be always, it was necessary, that for some time they should not be.

13. But I cannot tell whether the Counsel of *Hanno* were not more eminently prudent. For when *Mago* related the event of the Battle of *Cannæ* to the Senate of *Carthage*, and produced three Bushels of Gold Rings in testimony of the success, he demanded whether any of their Allies had revolted from the *Romans* after so great a defeat? When he heard that none were fallen off to *Hannibal*, he presently advis'd, that Embassadours should be sent to *Rome* to treat of Peace. which Counsel had it bin follow'd, neither had *Carthage* bin overcome in the Second, nor ruin'd in the Third *Punic* War.

14. Neither did the *Samnites* pay less severely for the same Errour, when they neglected the wholesome Counsel of *Herennius Pontius*; who excelling the rest in Authority and Prudence, being consulted by the Army, and the Commander thereof his own Son, What they should do with the *Roman* Souldiers taken at the *Caudine Forks*, answer'd, *That they should be sent home untouch'd.* The next day being asked the same question, he made answer, *That they should be all destroy'd*: Either that they might merit the good Will of an Enemy by an extraordinary Benefit, or impair his force by a considerable loss. But the improvident rashness of the Victors, despising both counsels of profit and advantage, by putting them under

under the Yoak, incens'd them to their ruine.

To many and great Examples of Prudence, I will adde one ſmall one: The *Cretans* when they would moſt vehemently curſe thoſe they hate, wiſh they may take pleaſure in an ill Cuſtome; and in the Modeſty of their Wiſh, finde a moſt efficacious event of their revenge: For to deſire any thing in vain, and to perſevere in that earneſt deſire, is a pleaſure next to ruine.

CHAP. III.

Of things craftily ſpoken or done.

Among the ROMANS.

1. *The Preſident of* Diana's *Temple.*
2. L. Junius Brutus.
3. P. Scipio Africanus *the Elder.*
4. Q. Fabius Lubeo.
5. Antonius *the Orator.*
6. Q. Sertorius.
7. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucoſſus.
8. M. Volaſius Saturninus *Ædil.*
9. Sentius Saturninus.
10. *A certain Father.*

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Alexander *the Great and an Aſs-driver.*
2. *King* Darius's *Groom.*
3. Bias *of* Priene.
4. Anaximenes.
5. Demoſthenes *the Orator.*
6. *A certain* Athenian.
7. Annibal *the ſon of* Giſgo *the* Carthaginian.
8. Annibal *the ſon of* Amilcar.
9. *The* Tuſculans.
10. Tullius Attius *Captain of the* Volſci.

THere is another ſort of ſaying and doing, declining from Wiſdome to the name of Cunning: which would

would not meet with the credit of what it propounded, did it not assume the force of Craft; and seeks for applause rather in a hidden path, than in an open way.

1. In the reign of *Servius Tullius*, a certain Landlord in the *Sabine* Territories had a Cow of an extraordinary bigness and beauty. Which certain Authors of the Oracles said was sent into the world by the Immortal Gods, to the end that whoever offer'd it to *Diana* of *Aventinum*, his Countrey should obtain the Empire over the whole World. The Master rejoycing to hear such tydings, drave the beast with all speed, and presented it before the Altar of *Diana* in *Aventinum*, desirous to give the Honour of Supreme Empire to the *Sabines*. Of which the President of the Temple having notice, put it into the Owner's head, that before he slew the Sacrifice, he should wash himself in the water of the next River: who for that reason hastening to *Tybur*, while he was gone, the chief Priest offer'd the beast, and by a pious theft of the Sacrifice, render'd our City the Mistress of so many Cities and Nations.

2. For which sharpness of Wit, *Junius Brutus* is in the first place to be commended. For when he found all the Promising Nobility to be cut off by King *Tarquinius* his Uncle, and that his Brother was by him put to death, because of the forwardness of his Wit, counterfeited himself to be a Fool; and by that fallacy conceal'd his own vast parts. Going also to the Oracle of *Delphos* with the Sons of *Tarquin*, whom their Father sent thither with rich Presents and Sacrifices in honour of *Pythian Apollo*, he carri'd Gold as a Present to the Deity, hid in a hollow stick; fearing that it was not safe to worship the Celestial Deity with

an

an open Liberality. After that, the Young-men, having performed their Father's commands, consulted *Apollo*, which among them all should be the person that should reign in *Rome*. The God made answer, *That he should obtain the Soveroignty, that gave his Mother the first kiss.* Then *Brutus* threw himself so down, as if he had fallen by chance, and kiss'd the Earth, the common Mother of all things. Which crafty Kiss given to the Earth, gave Liberty to our City, and the first place in our Annals to *Brutus*.

3. *Scipio* also the Elder embrac'd the aid of Craft. For as he was to sayl from *Sicily* into *Africa*, finding it necessary to compleat a Body of Three Hundred Horse out of the stoutest of the *Roman* Foot; though he had not time to exercise them, what the streitness of Time denied him, he attained by the Sagacity of his Counsel. For of all the young Gentlemen, which were the noblest and the richest, that he carried with him out of *Sicily* unarm'd, he choose out Three Hundred, whom he order'd to furnish themselves with gay Weapons and select Horses, as if he intended to carry them along with him to the storming of *Carthage*. Who obeying his command, as well in reference to the speed, as in respect of a far distant and dangerous War, *Scipio* told them, he would release them from the Expedition, upon condition they would deliver up their Weapons and Horses to his Souldiers. The Young-men effeminate and fearful, greedily accepted the Condition, and willingly deliver'd up their preparations to our Souldiers. Whereby the Subtilety of the Captain provided, that what was out of hand commanded, though severe at first, should be lookt upon as a greater benefit, the fear of service being remitted.

4, That

4. That which follows is also to be related. *Q. Fabius Labeo* being by the Senate appointed an Arbitrator to settle the Bounds between the *Nolans* and the *Neapolitans*, when they came to the business, admonish'd both apart, that laying aside all Covetousness, they should rather abate, than pretend to too much. Which when both sides had consented to, mov'd thereto by the authority of the person, there was some ground left. Thereupon the Bounds being set as they had agreed to, that which was left he adjudged to the People of *Rome*. But though neither the *Nolans* nor *Neapolitans* could in Justice complain, Sentence being given by their own consents; yet by a new kind of mental reservation, it brought a new Tribute to our City. The same person, being according to Articles to have half the Navy of King *Antiochus*, whom he had overthrown in Battle, cut all the Ships in two, and so depriv'd him of his whole Navy.

5. Now are we to excuse *Marcus Antonius*, who said, *That he never publish'd any Oration, to the end that if any Judgment of his formerly given should chance to hinder him that he should next defend, he might aver that he never spake it.* Which seem'd a reasonable excuse for a fact hardly allowable. For he was still ready not only to make use of his Eloquence, but to injure his Modesty to save his Client.

6. But *Sertorius*, upon whom Nature had with an equal indulgence bestow'd both strength of Body, and sagacity in Counsel, being compell'd to be Captain of the *Lusitanians* by the proscription of *Sylla*, when he could by no means perswade them but that they would fight with the whole Army of the *Romans*, by his crafty Counsel brought them to do as he intended.

For

For he placed in the ſight of all the *Luſitanians* two Horſes, one a ſtout beaſt, the other weak and infirm. After that he caus'd the Tail of the ſtrong Horſe to be pull'd hair by hair from him, by a weak old man; and the Tail of the weak Horſe to be torn all at once from him, by a young fellow of an egregious ſtrength. His commands were obey'd. But while the Young-man toyl'd himſelf in vain, the decrepit old-man did his buſineſs. Then to let the Barbarous Aſſembly underſtand the meaning of his project, he added, *That the* Roman *Army was like the tail of the Horſe, which might be eaſily overcome in parts; but that whoever aſſail'd the body entire, ſhould ſooner looſe than gain the Victory.* Thus the Barbarous rough-hewn Nation, ruſhing on to their own deſtruction, ſaw with their Eyes the advantages which their Ears had refus'd.

7. *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe buſineſs it was to overcome by abſtaining from fight, having in his Camp a *Nolan* Footman of prodigious ſtrength, yet ſuſpected for his Fidelity, and a *Lucan* Horſeman of equal ſtoutneſs, both captivated with the ſame Curtezan; to the end he might not looſe the advantage of two ſuch Souldiers, diſſembled his ſuſpicion to the one, and as to the other he ſomewhat ſurpaſſed the bounds of true Diſcipline. For by praiſing the one in the publick Tribunal, and loading him with all manner of commendations, he made him conſtant to the *Romans*, and an enemy to the *Carthaginians*; and the other he ſuffer'd to redeem his Miſtreſs privately, that he might become an exact Spy for our ſide.

8. I will come now to thoſe that ſaved themſelves by Craft. *M. Voluſius* a baniſh'd Ædile of the People, diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a Prieſt of *Iſis*, while he begg'd as he travelled upon the Road, kept himſelf from being known who he was. And in this diſguiſe he came to the Camp of *M. Brutus*. What more miſerable

rable than Neceſſity, which conſtrain'd a Magiſtrate of the People of *Rome*, laying aſide his Robes of Honour, under the diſguiſe of a forraign Religion, to beg from Town to Town? But all theſe were either too deſirous of Life, or too covetous of the Death of others, who could either endure ſuch things themſelves, or compell'd others to undergo ſuch difficulties.

9. Something more noble was that ſhift, at a dead lift, of *Sentius Saturninus Vetulio*, who hearing his name among thoſe that were proſcrib'd by the Triumvirs, preſently laid hold upon the Enſigns of Authority born before the Prætor, and pretending himſelf a publick *Lictor*, or Serjeant, he did it with that confidence, that in the midſt of all his enemies, he hid himſelf from their ſight in the midſt of day light. After that coming to *Puteoli*, and pretending himſelf in publick employment, he ſo carried himſelf, that he commanded a Veſſel to carry him without controul into *Sicily*, the ſafe refuge of the proſcrib'd Party at that time.

10. One more ſlight Example, and then to Forraigners. A certain perſon, extraordinarily indulgent to his Son, being deſirous to retrieve him from a dangerous and unlawful Amour, intermix'd his paternal Indulgence with the craft of wholeſome Counſel. For he deſir'd him before he went to his Miſtreſs, to make uſe of that ſort of Venery which was common and permitted. Whereupon the Youngman, liſtening to his Fathers entreaties, finding himſelf ſatiated by a lawful act, ceas'd to proſecute any farther his unlawful heat of concupiſcence.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *Alexander* King of the *Macedonians*, admoniſh'd by the Oracle that he ſhould put to death whoever

he met first coming out of the Gate, met a Driver of Asses, whom he commanded to be presently carried to execution. The Ass-driver thereupon besought him, wherefore he went about to put an innocent person to death, that had done him no offence? To whom when the King repeated the command of the Oracle; *If it be so, O King*, said the Ass-driver, *the Oracle assign'd another to dye, and not me: For the Ass that I drove met thee before I did.* *Alexander* pleas'd with the crafty Repartie of the poor fellow, and willing to be reclaimed from his errour, took an occasion to satisfie Religion with the death of the meaner Animal. Here was an extraordinary mildness joyned with subtilty; but a more extraordinary subtilty in the other Kings Groom, is this which follows.

2. For the sordid dominion of the *Magi* being overthrown, *Darius* the King, joyning with others of the same Dignity, made a noble contract with them, that they should be on Horseback by Sun-rising to ride to such a place, and that he should enjoy the Kingdome whose Horse first neigh'd. But while the Competitors for so great an honour only waited upon Fortune, *Darius* by the pure invention of *Ebar* the Master of his Horse, attain'd his wish: For he coming to the place, put his hand which he had but a little before thrust into the privy parts of a Mare, to the Nostrils of his Masters Horse; who provok'd by the Scent, immediately neighed. Which the rest of the Competitors no sooner heard, but immediately throwing themselves from their horses, and prostrating themselves upon the ground (as is the manner of the *Persians*) they saluted *Darius* King. How vast an Empire was thus obtain'd by so slight a piece of Cunning!

3. *Bias*, whose wisdome has bin more durable among men, than his Countrey of *Priene*, (for the one still remains, but the footsteps of the other are hardly now

now to be seen) was wont to say, *That men ought so to converse in point of Friendship, as to remember, that it might change into the severest Animosity.* Which Precept at first sight seems to be a piece of craft, and not congruous to reality, which is the delight of familiarity: But look upon it with a more intent consideration, and it will be found very profitable.

4. The safety of the City of *Lampsacum* consisted by one act of Subtlety: For when *Alexander* threatned nothing but the destruction of it, and saw his Master *Anaximenes* coming towards him without the Walls; for fear his prayers should assuage his anger, he swore not to grant whatever he petition'd for. Then said *Anaximenes*, *My Petition is, that thou wouldst destroy* Lampsacum. This quick reply saved a City, famous for its Antiquity, from the ruine to which it was destin'd.

5. The Cunning of *Demosthenes* was also a notable help to a young Maid, who had received Money to keep from two Guests, upon that condition, that she should restore the Money when they came both together. After some time, one of them in a Mourning Habit, as if his Friend had bin dead, comes and receives the whole Money: Which when she had paid, the other comes and demands his share. The poor Maid was at a loss, as well for the Money, as for Money to defend the Suit; and thought of nothing but hanging herself. But opportunely *Demosthenes* undertaking her Cause, *The woman*, said he, *is ready to pay the Money deposited in her custody; but unless you can bring the other person along with you, 'tis not for her to do it by the contract. For it was agreed between ye, that the Money should not be paid, till both came together.*

6. Nor was this imprudently acted. A certain *Athenian*,

thenian, hated by all the people, being to plead for his Life before them, upon a ſuddain began to demand the greateſt employment of the Magiſtracy among them. Not that he thought to obtain his deſire; but that the People might have wherewithal to blunt the edge of their firſt Anger, which is uſually the ſharpeſt. Nor did his Policy deceive him: for when the People had ſpent their malice in hiſſing him out the Aſſembly, and had diſgrac'd him by laying him aſide, when he came to plead for his Life, their malice turn'd into compaſſion, as if they had done enough againſt him before. For if he had ventur'd his life among them while they were thirſting after Revenge, he had found their Ears ſtopp'd againſt all Mercy.

7. Like to this was the following piece of Cunning. The Elder *Hannibal* being overthrown by *Duilius* in a Sea-fight, and fearing the loſs of his Head for the loſs of his Fleet, by an admirable act of Subtilty mitigated his crime: For before the news of his Overthrow got home, he ſends one of his Friends to *Carthage* in a gentile Habit. Who coming into the Senate-Houſe; *Hannibal*, ſaid he, *has ſent me to adviſe with you, Whether, if he meet the* Roman *Admiral and finde him too numerous, he ſhall fight or no?* When the whole Senate were unanimouſly for fighting; *Then*, ſaid he, *he has fought, and is overcome.* And then it was too late to condemn the fact, which they themſelves had approv'd.

8. The other *Hannibal* finding *Fabius Maximus*'s delay ſo prejudicial to his Victories, to render him ſuſpected of ſpinning out the War, while he waſted all other parts of *Italy* with Fire and Sword, he only ſpar'd his Farm. And the crafty act of kindneſs had taken effect, had not the piety of *Fabius* and the wily tricks of *Hannibal* bin too well known to the City of *Rome*.

9. The

9. The *Tusculans* also sav'd themselves by the acuteness of their Councils. For when by their frequent Rebellions they merited the total destruction of their City, and that *Furius Camillus* was sent for the same purpose with a very powerful Army, they all came forth to meet him in their Gowns, bringing him provisions, and offering him all other acts of Peace and Friendship, while their Shops were open as at other times. By which Constancy of theirs, they not only obtain'd our Friendship, but became also incorporated with our City.

10. But wicked was the counsel of *Tullus*, Captain of the *Volsci*; who being eager to make War upon the *Romans*, finding after the loss of several Battles, that his own People began to encline to Peace; by a subtile way of reasoning, made 'em do what he pleased. For it happening that a great multitude of the *Volsci* went to *Rome* to behold the Publick Shews, he told the Consuls, he was afraid they would contrive some mischief, being so numerous; advis'd them to be careful, and presently left the City himself. This the Consuls related to the Senate, who though they knew no reason for it, yet upon *Tullus*'s words, voted the *Volsci* to depart the City. By which contempt the *Volsci* incensed, were easily induced to Rebellion. Thus with a Lye, mask'd in Kindness, did a cunning Captain deceive two Nations: The *Romans* being moved to abuse the Innocent, and the deceived *Volsci* to revenge the injury.

CHAP. IV.

Of Stratagems.

ROMANS.

1. Tullus Hoſtilius *King.*
2. Sext. Tarquinius.
3. *The beſieged in the* Capitol.
4. M. Livius *and* C. Claudius, *Conſuls.*
5. Q. Metellus *ſirnamed the* Macedonian.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Agathocles *King of* Syracuſe.
2. Hannibal.

But this part of Subtilty is to be applauded, as being free from all reproof: the acts whereof becauſe we have no word to expreſs, we are forced to borrow the word *Stratagem* from the *Greek.*

1. *Fidene*, a City that kept the growing infancy of our City waking, and nouriſhing her Vertue with neighbouring Trophies and Triumphs, taught her to aſpire farther, was aſſail'd by *Tullus Hoſtilius* with all his forces. At that time *Metius Suffetius*, in the field, when the Battles were ready to joyn, diſcover'd the falſity of his heart, which he had a long time kept conceal'd. For leaving the wing of the *Roman* Army, he drew off to a Hill, where he reſolv'd to be a Spectator rather than an Aſſiſtant; intending either to triumph over the vanquiſh'd, or to fall upon the weary Victors. No queſtion but it diſcourag'd our Souldiers to ſee themſelves forſaken by their Allies, at the very time when they were going to fight their Enemies. To prevent which, *Tullus* riding ſwiftly about the Battallions, cryed out, *That* Metius *had drawn off by his command,*

command, and that he was to fall upon the back of the Fidenates *when he gave the ſigne.* And by that cunning of an expert General, he chang'd their Fear into Confidence, and fill'd their breaſts with Chearfulneſs inſtead of Conſternation.

2. And that I may not preſently leave our Kings; *Sextus Tarquinius*, the Son of *Tarquinius*, fretting to ſee that the *Gabii* could not be taken by his Father's Army, found out a trick more powerful than Weapons themſelves, whereby he over-reach'd the Town, and joyn'd it to the *Roman* Empire. For he betook himſelf to the *Gabii*, counterfeiting himſelf to be fled from his Fathers ſtripes and ſeverity. After that, procuring the good will of every one by his kind and winning behaviour, when he had won that, he ſent his Servant to his Father, to tell him how he had every thing in his hands, and to deſire him to know what he ſhould do. The old mans Craft was anſwerable to the youngs mans ſubtilty. For *Tarquin* pleaſed with the news, yet not confiding in the Meſſenger, return'd no anſwer, but carrying him into the Garden, ſtrook of the heads of the higheſt and biggeſt Poppies with his Cane. The young man underſtanding his ſilence, and what he had done, concluded there was another meaning in the thing: which was, that he ſhould either baniſh or put to death all the Chief Heads of the *Gabii*. Whereby he deliver'd up the City empty of defenders, and yet the peoples hands were not tyed.

3. Prudently alſo and proſperouſly was it provided by our Anceſtors, when our City being taken, the Capitol was beſieg'd by the *Gauls*, who deſpair'd of taking it any other way than by famiſhing the beſieg'd. For by how cunning an act of deliberation did they deprive the Victors of their only motive to that obſtinacy, by caſting Loaves of Bread out of the Capitol

into several parts of the Besiegers Line! At which sight they were so amaz'd, and thought us to be so well stor'd, that they were constrain'd to raise their Siege. Certainly *Jupiter* himself took compassion of the *Roman* Courage, which then borrow'd assistance from craft; seeing them in the height of want, to waste the support of Life: And therefore he prosper'd the cunning Stratagem with a prosperous event.

4. The same *Jupiter* afterwards became propitious to the crafty Councils of our Captains. For when *Hannibal* harrassed one side of *Italy*, and *Asdrubal* had invaded the other; that the conjoyned forces of two Brothers might not too heavily and sorely oppress the already-too-weak condition of our affairs, here *Claudius Nero* supply'd his vigorous Counsel, there *Livius Salinator* providently provided. For *Nero* curbing *Hannibal* in the Province of the *Lucans*, making a shew of still attending the Enemy (for so the reason of War requir'd) with long and speedy marches hattens to the assistance of his Colleague. *Salinator* being then in *Umbria* by the River *Metaurus*, and resolved to fight the next day, with an extraordinary Policy received *Nero* by night. For he order'd the Tribunes to be receiv'd by the Tribunes, the Centurions by the Centurions, the Horsemen by the Horsemen, the Foot by the Footmen; and so without any tumult, he ingrafted two Armies into one, in the same ground that was hardly able to contain that which he had before. Whereby it hapned that *Asdrubal* knew not that he fought with two Consuls, before he was by both overthrown. And thus was the *Punic* faith, so infamous over all the world, deluded at its own Weapon: while the *Roman* Prudence deliver'd up *Hannibal* to the Wiles of *Nero*, *Asdrubal* to the Deceit of *Salinator*.

5. Memorable also was the Counsel of *Q. Metellus*, who together with the Proconsul warring against the *Celtiberians*

Celtiberians in *Spain*, and finding himſelf too weak to force *Contrebia* the Metropolis of that Countrey, revolving many thoughts in his minde, at length he found a way to bring his buſineſs to perfection. He made tedious marches, ſometimes he fell upon this Province, ſometimes upon another; ſometimes he aſſail'd theſe Paſſages of the Mountains, and ſometimes others: and all this while, as well his own Officers, as the Enemy, were amaz'd to ſee him whirl from one place to another in that manner. For which reaſon being ask'd by one of his intimate friends, why he made ſuch a looſe and ſcatter'd kind of War? *Forbear to enquire*, ſaid he: *for if I thought my ſhirt knew the meaning of this deſigne of mine, I would cauſe it to be burnt.* How far did this diſſimulation extend? Or what was the iſſue of it? But when he had involv'd both his own Army and the Enemy in the ſame errour, faining to march another way, he ſuddainly turn'd back upon *Contrebia*, and ſo ſurpriz'd it unawares. So that if he had not ſuffer'd his thoughts to ſearch after Wiles and Stratagems, he might have lain before *Contrebia* all the days of his life.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *Agathocles*, King of the *Syracuſans*, was boldly cunning: For when the *Carthaginians* had poſſeſs'd the greateſt part of his City, he tranſported his Army into *Africa*, to diſpel fear by fear, and force by force; and not without ſucceſs. For the *Carthaginians* affrighted at his ſuddain coming, willingly redeem'd their own ſecurity by the ſafety of the enemy; So that it was agreed, that at the ſame time *Africa* ſhould be freed from the *Sicilians*, and *Sicily* from the *Carthaginians*. For had he perſever'd to preſerve the Walls of *Syracuſe*, they had been ſtill vex'd with the miſe-

ries

ries of War, while *Carthage* had enjoyed the benefits of Peace. But now threatning her with the same ruine, while he rather invades the wealth and fortunes of others, than defends his own; the more justly he deserted his Kingdom, the more safely he receiv'd it again.

2. What did *Hannibal* at the Battle of *Cannæ*? Had he not ensnar'd the *Roman* Army in many intanglements of subtle Stratagem, before he went to fight? In the first place he took care to get the Sun and Wind, and so to secure himself from the flying of the Dust. Then in the very time of fight, he caus'd great part of his Army to counterfeit a flight; which when the *Roman* Legion follow'd, as it was divided from the rest of the Army, he provided that they should be cut to pieces by the Ambush which he had laid to entrap them. Then he order'd four hundred Horse to go to the Consul like Revolters; who being commanded to lay aside their Weapons, and to retire into the Rear of the Army, in the heat of the Fight, drawing their Swords, which they privately conceal'd between their Vests and Armour, cut the Hams of the engaged *Romans*. Thus was the *Punic* Fortitude furnish'd with Deceit, Ambushment, and Fallacy. Which excuses our Courage for being so circumvented: Since we were rather deceiv'd, than overcome.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Repulſes.

1. Ælius Tubero.
2. Scipio Naſica.
3. Æmilius Paulus.
4. Metellus *the* Macedonian.
5. Cornelius Sylla.
6. Cato *of* Utica.

THe Condition of the Field of *Mars* well repreſented, may alſo inſtruct the ambitious more ſtrenuouſly to ſuſtain the leſs proſperous events of the Elections. While the repulſes of eminent and famous men being ſet before their eyes, they may ſtand for honour not with leſs hope than judicious ones of mind; and may remember, that it is no crime for ſomething to be deny'd by all to one man, when ſometimes ſingle perſons have thought it lawful to reſiſt the wills of all. Knowing that what cannot be obtained by Favour, muſt be ſought by Patience.

1. *Q. Ælius Tubero* being deſired to ſpread the Dining-Chamber by *Fabius Maximus*, who was to feaſt the people in the name of *P. Africanus* his Uncle, ſpread the *Punic* Beds with the Skins of Kids; and inſtead of Silver Diſhes, brought forth *Samian*. By which unſeemlineſs he ſo offended all the company, that when he ſtood for Prætor, depending upon *L. Paulus* his Grandfather, and *P. Africanus* his Uncle, he was forc'd to ſuffer the ſhame of a repulſe. For though privately they approved thriftineſs, yet publickly they were very curious to be ſplendid. And therefore the City, not believing the Gueſts of one Banquet, but that all her Inhabitants had layn upon Goat-

Goat-skins, reveng'd the discredit of the Banquet, by the shame of not giving him their voices.

2. *Pub. Scipio Nasica*, the glory of the Gown, who being Consul pronounced War against *Jugurth*, whose holy hands receiv'd the *Idæan* Matron, leaving *Phrygia* to grace our Altars and our Habitations; who by the strength of his authority suppress'd many fatal Seditions; who was Prince of the Senate for many years: when he was a young man, and stood to be the Ædil in the Running-chair, took a certain person by the hand, whom he grasp'd with his own, and finding his friends hand to be hard'ned with labour, he asked him, whether he us'd to walk upon his hands. Which question being heard by the standers by, came to be in the mouths of all the People, and occasion'd *Scipio* to be repuls'd. For all the People thinking he had upbraided them with the poverty of the Rustick Tribe, discharg'd their anger upon his contumelious Jeast. Thus our City, by recalling the Wits of the Noble Youth from Insolence, made many and profitable Citizens; and added the due weight to honour, not suffering them to be sought for by those that were secure of them beforehand.

3. There was no such Errour to be found in *Æmilius Paulus*; and yet sometimes he stood for the Consulship in vain. However, the same person, when he had wearied the field with his repulses, being afterwards made twice Consul and Censor, arriv'd to the highest degree of Honour. Whose Vertue injuries did not break, but sharpen; for being incens'd at the dishonour, he carried to the field a more eager desire of the Supreme Dignity, that he might overcome the People by his perseverance, since he could not stir them by the splendour of his Nobility, and the endowments of his Minde.

4. Only a few, and those disconsolate Friends, accompanied

companied *Quint. Cæcilius* home, asham'd and full of grief, whom afterwards the whole Senate and People follow'd brisk and jovial to the Capitol, having triumph'd over the false *Philip*. The greatest part also of the *Achæan* War, to which *Mummius* lent his helping hand, was compleated by this person. Could the people then deny the Consulship to him, to whom they owed, or were likely to owe two most famous Provinces? And yet that act made him a better Citizen; for he thought he was to carry himself the more industriously in that Consulship which he found so hard to be obtain'd.

5. Who more powerful, who more opulent than *L. Sylla?* He dispos'd of Empires and Kingdomes; he abrogated old Laws, and made new; and yet in that field of which he was afterwards Master, he lost the Prætorship which he stood for.

6. But to relate the greatest crime of the Elections, *M. Portius Cato*, who was more likely to grace the Prætorship with the gravity of his manners, than to receive addition of splendour from it, could not once obtain it at the peoples hands. Voices of Madmen, how well were they paid for the errour they committed! For the honour which they denied to *Cato*, they were forced to give to *Vatinius*. And therefore to speak the truth, the Prætorship was not then denied to *Cato*, but *Cato* was denied to the Prætorship.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Neceſſity.

1. *The People of* Rome *after the overthrow at* Cannæ.
2. *The* Caſilinates *in their Siege.*
3. *The* Prænestines *beſieged.*
4. *The People of* Rome *in the Wars of* Marius.
5. C. Cæſar *at* Munda.
6. *The* Aſiaticks *in the* Parthian War.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. *The* Cretans *beſieged by* Q. Metellus.
2. *The* Numantines *beſieged by* P. Scipio.
3. *The* Caluguritans.

MOſt bitter are the Laws of abominable Neceſſity, and moſt ſevere her Commands, which have compell'd not only our City, but alſo forraign Nations to ſuffer many things grievous, not only to the underſtanding, but alſo to the hearing.

1. For in the Second *Punic* War, the Youth of *Rome* being exhauſted, the Senate, at the motion of *Titus Gracchus* Conſul elect, order'd, that Servants might be publickly bought, to ſerve againſt the Enemy. Which being reported by the Tribunes to the people, three perſons were choſen out to buy four and twenty thouſand Servants; who ſwearing them to be true, faithful and courageous, while the *Carthaginians* continued in *Italy*, ſent them away to the Camp. Out of *Apulia* alſo and the Territories of *Fidicule* two hundred and ſeventy Horſemen were bought to ſupply the Horſe. How great is the violence of bitter Chance! That City which till that time

time loath'd to have Souldiers whose heads were never tax'd, that very City is now constrain'd to hale the bodies of Slaves from their servile dens, and Freemen from the Cottages of Shepherds, to be the chief strength of their Army. Generous spirits therefore must sometimes give way to convenience, and submit to the power of Fortune, where he that chooses not the safest Counsel, yields to him that follows the most specious Advice. But the slaughter of *Canna* so amaz'd our City, that by the industry of *Marcus Junius*, then ordering the affairs of the Commonwealth as Dictator, the spoils of the Enemies fix'd in the Temples consecrated to the Gods, were taken down for the service of the Wars, and the youth of the Nobility were forced to take Arms; and six Thousand condemn'd persons were also listed out of necessity. Which things consider'd in themselves, seem to look somewhat odly; but weighed in the balance of necessity, they appear to be helps fit for the severity of the times. By reason of the same Overthrow, the Senate wrote back in answer to *Otacilius* and *Cornelius Mammula*, the one Propraetor of *Sicily*, the other of *Sardignia*, who both complain'd that they had neither Money nor Provisions for their Armies, That they had not Money in the Treasury for distant expences, and therefore bid them take the best course they could to provide for themselves. Whereby the Senate put the Government quite out of their own hands, and abandon'd *Sicily* and *Sardignia*, two the kindest Nurses of our City, the strength and support of their Wars, subdu'd with so much blood and sweat, in a few words, to the severe command of Necessity.

2. The *Casilinates* wanting Victuals, and being closely besieg'd by *Hannibal*, took all the Leathern Thongs from their necessary uses, and the Leather Covers

Covers from their Targets, and boyling them in water, were forc'd to feed upon them. Consider but the bitterness of the Calamity, and what could be more miserable? If you consider their Constancy, what greater mark of Fidelity? Who rather than they would desert the *Romans*, maintain'd themselves with such a sort of Diet, when such fat Fields, and such a fertile Soyl, joyn'd so close to their Walls.

3. When that Town was so besieg'd, and so faithfully held out, it hapned that one among Three Hundred *Prænestines* having taken a Mouse, would rather sell it for Two Hundred *Denaries*, than eat it himself, notwithstanding the famishing condition he was in. But Providence allotted both to the Buyer and the Seller, the end which they both deserv'd. For the covetous person being starv'd to death, enjoy'd not the spoils of his Avarice; but he that was at so great an expence for his own preservation, though he bought it dear, yet since it was out of Necessity, liv'd.

4. In the Consulship of *C. Marius* and *Cn. Carbo*, who contended in a Civil War with *Sylla*, and at what time the Commonwealth did not seek for Victory, but that the Publick was to be the Victors reward; by a Decree of the Senate, the Gold and Silver Ornaments of the Temples were melted down, to pay the Souldiers. For it was a worthy contention, whether the one should be permitted to satiate his Cruelty with the banishment of the Citizens, or whether the Immortal Gods should be rob'd. But it was not the will of the Conscript Fathers, but thine, Dire Necessity, that occasion'd that order to be made.

5. When the divine *Julius*'s Army besieged *Munda*, and that they wanted matter to raise their Battery, they made up the height, which they wanted, with the Bodies of dead Men. And because they wanted Stakes, they drave in their Piles, and French-

Darts

Darts to ſtrengthen 'em; Neceſſity teaching them a new way of Fortification.

6. And that I may adde the heavenly mention of the Son, to the remembrance of the celeſtial Father; when *Phraates* King of the *Parthians* threatned to break in upon our Provinces, and that the adjoyning Regions were terrified at the news of their coming, there was ſuch a Famine in the Region of *Boſphorus*, that the Souldiers exchang'd ſo many Slaves for a ſingle Veſſel of Oyle, and ſo many Slaves for a Buſhel of Wheat. But the care of *Auguſtus*, under whoſe Protection the world then was, ſoon provided a Remedy for that Calamity.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. The *Cretans* had no ſuch help: who being beſieged by *Metellus*, and reduced to the utmoſt Extremity, rather tormented than quench'd their thirſt with their own and the Urine of their Cattle. For fearing to be overcome, they ſuffer'd that, which the Victors would not have forced them to have endur'd.

2. The *Numantines* being beſieged by *Scipio*, when they had conſum'd all other things, at length were conſtrain'd to feed upon Mans-fleſh. So that when their City was taken, there were many found with the joynts and members of the ſlain in their boſomes. But Neceſſity has no excuſe for this; for there was no neceſſity for them to live, to whom it was ſo lawful to dye.

3. But the horrid impiety of the *Calagurritans* exceeded the obſtinacy of the former: who to the end they might appear the more faithful to the aſhes of the ſlain *Sertorius*, being beſieg'd by *Pompey*, having devoured all other creatures in their City, fell to feaſt

upon their Wives and Children. And to the end the Armed Youth might nouriſh their Bowels with their own bowels the longer, they were not afraid to ſalt up the unfortunate remainders of the dead bodies. Think you it would be an exhortation prevalent enough in the field, to exhort ſuch Souldiers to fight for the ſafety of their Wives and Children? It had bin more proper for ſo great a Captain to have puniſht ſuch an Enemy, than to ſeek for Victory. For Revenge would have purchaſed them more Liberty, than Victory could win them Honour; in compariſon of whom Serpents and wild beaſts were gentle and merciful creatures. For thoſe dear pledges of Life, dearer to them than their lives themſelves, were the Dinners and Suppers of the *Catagurritans*.

CHAP. VII.

Of Wills cancell'd.

1. *A Father that diſinherited his Son.*
2. M. Annius Carſcolanus.
3. C. Tettius.
4. Sulpitia *the mother of the* Trachali.
5. Terentius.
6. Nævianus.
7. Juventius.

LEt us now go to that ſort of buſineſs, which among all the actions of Men, is the laſt thing done, and their chiefeſt care: And let us conſider, what Wills have bin cancell'd after they were legally made; or might have bin cancell'd when they ſtood firm, and transferr'd the honour of Inheritance to others than thoſe that expected it.

1. Which

1. Which that I may do according to the order which I have propoſed, I will begin with the Father of a certain Souldier, who hearing a falſe report of the death of his Son from the Camp, made other Heirs in his Will, and died. The Youngman returning home after the war was ended, found the dores ſhut againſt him, by the errour of his Father, and the impudence of his Friends. For how could they ſhew themſelves more ſhameleſs than they did? The Souldier had ſpent the flower of his youth in his Countries Service, had undergone moſt dreadful Labours and Dangers, ſhewed the Wounds which he had received in Battle, and only begg'd that lazy Drones, a very burthen to the very City it ſelf, might not poſſeſs his Anceſtors Inheritance. Therefore laying aſide his Armes, he was forced to commence a Gown-war in the Court of Juſtice. A hard caſe, while he is forc'd to contend for his Fathers eſtate with wicked Heirs before the *Centumviri*; though they could not chooſe but give their Opinions for him, while the Sentence of the Court gave him the day.

2. *Marcus Annius* the Son of *M. Carſeolanus*, a famous *Roman* Knight, adopted by *Sufenas* his Uncle, cancell'd his Fathers Will, who had left him out of it, by the Sentence of the *Centumviri*, before whom he tryed the Cauſe; though *Tullianus*, the familiar Friend of *Pompey* the *Great*, who was a witneſs to it, were made Heir. Therefore he had more to do with the power of a perſon potent in Court, than with the aſhes of his Father. Yet though both did what they could to hinder him, he obtain'd his fathers Goods. For *L. Sextilius*, and *P. Popilius*, whom *M. Annius*, as being his neareſt Relations, had made Heirs of the ſame part which was given to *Tullianus*, durſt not contend by their Otahs with the young man. Though they might have bin ſent for at that time by the

higheſt Authorities then in being, to have defended the Will. And it was ſome pretence for the Heirs, that *M. Annius* was tranſlated into the Family of *Sufenas*. But the ſtrong tye of procreation overcame both the Fathers Will, and the Authority of ſo great a Perſonage.

3. *C. Tettius*, an Infant born of *Petronia* the Wife of *Tettius* as long as he liv'd, being diſinherited by his Father, was reſtor'd to his Inheritance by the Decree of the divine *Auguſtus*, doing like a Father of his Countrey: In regard that *Tettius* had ſo unjuſtly abrogated the paternal Name, by giving away his eſtate from a Son, ſo legally born to his own Right.

4. *Septicia* alſo, the Mother of the *Trachali* of *Ariminum*, being angry with her Sons, out of ſpite when ſhe was now paſt child-bearing married *Publicius* an old man, and left both her Children out of her Will. Who appealing to the divine *Auguſtus*, he diſapprov'd both the Marriage, and diſannul'd the Will. For he order'd that the Sons ſhould have their Mothers eſtate, and commanded the Husband to reſtore her Dower; becauſe ſhe did not marry out of hopes of having Children. If Juſtice her ſelf had given ſentence in this caſe, could ſhe have pronounc'd a juſter Sentence? Thou deſpiſeſt thoſe whom thou haſt begot; thou marrieſt paſt Child-bearing; thou breakeſt the order of Wills out of a violent humour, and doſt not bluſh to give all thy Patrimony to a perſon, to whoſe feeble body thou haſt proſtituted thy old Age. And therefore, while thou thus behaveſt thy ſelf, thou art caſt down to Hell by the voice of heavenly Thunder.

5. Famous is the Conſtitution of *C. Calpurnius Piſo*, Prætor of the City. For when *Terentius* complain'd before him, together with his eight Sons whom he had bred up to be men, that one of his Sons

whom

whom he had parted with in Adoption, had disinherited him; gave him the possession of the young mans estate, and would not suffer the Heirs to go to Law. The Paternal Majesty of the man mov'd *Calpurnius* doubtless, together with the gift of Life, and the benefit of Education: but that which more moved him, was the number of his other Children that stood by, seeing seven Brothers and a Father disinherited by one Child.

6. How prudent was the Decree of *Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus* the Consul! *Genucius*, a certain Priest of *Cybele*, besought the Prætor of the City, *Cn. Orestes*, that the goods of *Nævianus* might be restor'd to him, the possession whereof he had by Will obtain'd. *Mamercus* being thereupon appeal'd to by *Surdinius*, whose Freed-man had left *Genucius* his Heir, disannull'd the Prætors Sentence, saying, *That* Genucius, *who had of his own accord suffered himself to be gelt* (for so are all the Priests of *Cybele*) *was not to be reckon'd either a man or woman.* A Decree befitting *Mamercus*, befitting the Prince of the Senate; whereby he provided that the Tribunals of Magistrates should not be polluted by the obscene presence, and scandalous voice of Eunuchs.

7. *Q. Metellus* was a much more severe Prætor than *Orestes*: Who would not give *Vecilius*, the Pandar the possession of the Goods of *Juventius*, left him by Will. For that noble and grave Personage did not think the condition of a Court of Judicature and a Brothel-house to be the same. Neither would he approve the fact of that man, who had thrown away his estate upon an unclean stable; nor give the same right to one that made a publick profession of Dishonesty, as to a Citizen of a good Conversation.

Chap. VIII.

Of Testaments confirm'd, and unlookt for Inheritances.

Of the Romans.

1. Sempronius Tuditanus.
2. Æbucia.
3. Q. Metellus.
4. *The Brother of* Pompeius *of* Rhegium.
5. Q. Cæcilus.
6. T. Marius.
7. Valerius Heptachordus.
8. T. Barrulus.
9. M. Popilius.

HAving contented our selves with these Examples of cancell'd Wills, let us give a hint upon those that have remain'd confirm'd, when there was cause enough for them to have bin cancell'd.

1. How publickly and scandalously was *Tuditanus* noted for a madman! being one that threw his Money among the People, and trayl'd his Cloak after him in the *Forum*, as if it had bin the garment of a Tragedian; so that he was the laughter of all that beheld him, besides many other pranks of the same nature which they beheld. He made his Son Heir by his Will: which *T. Longus* by the Judgment of the *Centumviri* in vain endeavour'd to have disannull'd, as being next of kin. For the *Centumviri* thought it more proper to consider what was written in the Will, than who had wrote it.

2. The conversation of *Tuditanus* was Frantick; but *Æbucia*, who was the wife of *L. Menenius Agrippa*. made a Will that was Madness it self. For having two Daughters of equal vertue, *Plætoria* and *Afrania*, through the inclination of her own minde, rather than

than for any offence or miſcarriage, ſhe only made *Pleteria* her Heir: and to the Children of *Afrania*, out of her vaſt Patrimony, ſhe left only twenty thouſand pieces of Money. However *Afrania* would not contend by Oath with her Siſter, rather chooſing patiently to honour her Mothers Will, than to violate it in Court; ſhewing her ſelf thereby ſo much the more unworthy the Injury done her, by how much the more patiently ſhe bore it.

3. *Q. Metellus* committed a womaniſh errour, leſs to be admir'd. For he, though there were ſeveral eminent and famous young men, of the ſame name, living in our City at the ſame time, and that the Family of the *Claudii*, to whom he was moſt nearly related, were then very numerous, left *Corinates* onely his Heir; neither did any one attempt to queſtion his Will.

4. *Pompeius* alſo *Rheginus*, a *Tramontane*, being by his Brother left out of his Will, and that to prove his Injuſtice, he had in a full Aſſembly of both Orders recited two former Wills made and teſtified in the publick place of Elections, by which this Brother was made Heir of the greateſt part, only there was premis'd to him the ſumm of an hundred and fifty Seſterces; after he had long complain'd to his Friends that ſooth'd his indignation, took a reſolution not to trouble the aſhes of his Brother in a Court of Judicature. Yet they, whom he had made his Heirs, were ſo far from being ſo near a kin by the Fathers ſide, that they were not the next to him; but ſtrangers and poor. So that the Silence ſeem'd to be wicked, and the Pride contumelious.

5. Happy in their Impunity, but whether theſe Wills were not worſe in offending, is the Queſtion. *Quintus Cæcilius* by the diligent endeavour and great Liberalitie of *L. Lucullus*, having attain'd to a hand-

ſome degree of Dignity, and an ample Patrimony; when he had fully reſolv'd that he alone ſhould be his Heir, and on his Death-bed had given him his Rings from off his Fingers; yet by his Will adopted *Pomponius Atticus*, and made him Heir to all his Eſtate. But the *Roman* People tying a Halter about the neck of the Carcaſs of that deceitful and fallacious perſon, dragg'd him along the High-way. Thus the wicked wretch had a Son and Heir, ſuch as he deſir'd; but a Funeral and a Grave, ſuch as he deſerv'd.

6. Neither was *T. Marius Urbinas* worthy of any other; who by the favour of the divine *Auguſtus* the Emperour, being rais'd from the loweſt condition of a common Souldier, to the higheſt commands in the Camp; and being by them enrich'd, not onely at other times declar'd, that he would leave his fortunes to him that had beſtow'd them on him, and but the day before he died proteſted the ſame thing to *Auguſtus* himſelf; when as he had not ſo much as mention'd his name in his Will.

7. *Lucius Valerius*, whoſe ſirname was *Heptachordus*, having experienc'd the enmity of *Cornelius Balbus* in Court, as being plagued by his advice and management with ſeveral private Suits, and at length by a ſuborned witneſs being by him accus'd of a Capital Crime, leaving out his Advocates and Patrons, left him ſole Heir; cow'd by ſuch a dread, as turn'd his reſolutions topſie turvie. For he lov'd his Ignominie, lov'd the dangers, and ſeem'd to wiſh he had bin condemn'd: being ſo kind to the authour of thoſe miſchiefs, and hating his defenders.

8. *T. Barrulus* upon his Death-bed deliver'd his Rings to *Lentulus Spinther*, whoſe kindneſs and friendſhip he had felt, as to his only Heir; yet left him nothing at all. How ſtrangely at that very moment

ment of time (if it be of that force which we believe it to be) did Conſcience puniſh that abominable creature! For between the very thoughts of his Ingratitude and Fallacy, he yielded up his laſt breath, as if ſome Tormenter had crucified his ſoul within him. For he knew that his paſſage from life to death was hateful to the Gods, and would be deteſted by the Infernal Spirits.

9. *Marcus Popilius* upon his death-bed beheld *Oppius Gallus* a Senator, with whom he had been familiar from his youth, as the Laws of antient friendſhip requir'd, and gave him the moſt loving words imaginable. For he thought him only worthy, of all that ſtood by him, of his laſt embrace and kiſs: moreover he deliver'd him his Rings, to enſure him of that Inheritance which he was never likely to enjoy. Which Rings laid up in his Purſe, and aſſigned to him by thoſe that were preſent, *Oppius*, (a diligent man, but a mere mock of his dying friend) diſinherits himſelf, and returns them diligently to his Heirs. What could be more diſhoneſt or more unſeaſonable at this time and place? That a Senator of the *Roman* people, juſt ready to die, not only as a man to the world, but alſo as a publick perſon to the Senate-houſe, ſhould have ſuch a trick put upon him, againſt all the ſacred Laws of friendſhip, when his eyes were ſet in his head, and he drawing his laſt breath?

Lib. VIII.

Chap. I.

Of signal Publick Judgments.

Absolv'd.	Condemn'd.
1. M. Horatius Tergeminus.	1. L. Scipio Asiatick.
2. Ser. Sulpitius Galba.	2. C. Decianus.
3. A. Gabinius.	3. Sex. Titius.
4. P. Claudius Pulcher.	4. Claudia *the daughter of* App. *the blind.*
5. Tuccia, *the Vestal.*	5. M. Mulvius, C. Lollius, L. Sextilius, *Triumvirs.*
6. L. Calpurnius Piso.	6. P. Villius, *the Triumvir.*
7. Q. Flavius, *the Augur.*	7. M. Æmilius Porcina.
8. Cosconius Callidianus.	8. *A certain Father of a Family.*
9. Atilius Calatinus.	
10. M. Æmilius Scaurus, *jun.*	Two Burnt.
11. Aurelius Cotta.	1. *A Matricide.*
12. Callidius *of* Bononia.	2. *A Mistress of a Family.*
13. *The two* Cloelii *of* Tarracinum.	

Absolved.

NOw that the doubtful motions of Judgments may more easily be endured, let us relate for what causes they that laboured under Envy, were either acquitted or condemned.

1. *M. Hor-*

1. *M. Horatius* being condemned by *Tullus* the King for having ſlain his Siſter, was acquitted by appealing to the people. The one was incens'd by the Cruelty of the Murther, the other by the reaſon of the fact enclin'd to Mercy: believing the immature love of the Virgin more ſeverely than impiouſly puniſh'd. And thus the brothers arm being ſav'd by ſo ſtout a correction, reap'd as much honour from the blood of his near relation, as from the blood of an enemy.

2. Before, the *Roman* people ſhewed themſelves fierce preſervers of Chaſtity; afterwards more mild Judges than Juſtice it ſelf required. For when *Servius Galba* was ſeverely accuſed by *Libo*, a Tribune of the People, for that being a Prætor in *Spain*, he had put to death a great number of the *Luſitanians*, contrary to his Faith given them; and that *Cato*, at that time very aged, in an Oration upon publick Record, had made good what the Tribune had done; ſo that the party accuſed had not a word to ſay for his own defence; yet when with tears in his eyes he only recommended to the Aſſembly his little Children, and the young Son of *Sulpitius Gallus*, neerly related to him, he ſo appeas'd the wrath of his Judges, that he, who was but juſt now ready to be condemn'd by the Vote of all, had hardly in an inſtant one Vote to his prejudice. Pitie, not Equity, rul'd that Inditement; ſince that Abſolution that could not be granted to Innocency, was given out of reſpect to the Children.

3. Like to this was that which follows. *Aulus Gabinius*, in the height of Infamy, being by the accuſation of *C. Memmius* expos'd to the ſuffrages of the People, ſeem'd to be paſt all hope. For the Inditement was full, the Defence weak, and his Judges ſuch as with a precipitate malice deſired his puniſhment.

ment. The Officers and Impriſonment hovered before his eyes, and yet all vaniſhed away by the interpoſition of propitious Fortune. For *Siſenna*, the Son of *Gabinius*, by an impulſe of conſternation, throwing himſelf a Suppliant at the feet of *Memmius*, beſought there ſome aſſwagement of the Tempeſt, where the whole fury of the Storm firſt aroſe. Whom the Victor beholding with a ſtern countenance, and tearing his Ring from his finger, ſuffer'd for ſome time to lye groveling upon the ground. Which ſad ſpectacle wrought that effect, that *Lælius* the Tribune by a general conſent order'd the priſoner to be ſet at liberty. Teaching us, that no man ought inſolently to abuſe the ſucceſſes of Proſperity, nor over-weakly to be caſt down by Adverſity.

4. Which is made manifeſt by the next Example. *Publius Claudius*, I cannot tell whether to the greater detriment of Religion or his Countrey (in regard he contemn'd the antient Cuſtomes of the one, and loſt a noble Navy of t'other) being expos'd to the anger of the People; when it was thought he could no way avoid the puniſhment that he deſerv'd, ſaved himſelf from Condemnation, by the benefit of a ſuddain ſtorm. By which means the Trial being laid aſide, it pleaſed the People never to bring it on again, as if the Gods themſelves had forbid it. Thus was he ſaved by a Land-ſtorm, whom a Sea-tempeſt had like to have brought to condemnation.

5. By the ſame ſort of aſſiſtance the Chaſtity of *Tuccia*, a *Veſtal* Virgin, and accus'd of Inceſt, eſcaped out of a black cloud of Infamy. Who truſting to the ſincerity of her Innocency, ventur'd the hope of her ſafety upon a doubtful argument. For, ſnatching up a ſieve, Veſta, ſaid ſhe, *If I have always attended thy Rites with clean and chaſt hands, grant that I may take up water out of* Tiber *in this, and carry it*

to

to thy Temple. Nature gave way to the rash and bold Imprecation of the Priestess.

6. *Lucius Piso* also being accused by *Claudius Pulcher*, for having done great and intolerable injuries to the *Roman* Allies, by a lucky chance escaped the fear of an unquestioned ruine: For at the same time that they were about to give severe Judgment against him, there fell a sudden shower, which filled his mouth full of durt, as he lay prostrate at the feet of his Judges. Which Spectacle changed the whole Trial from Severity into Pity and Clemency: For they believ'd he had given full satisfaction to their Allies, by being compell'd to prostrate himself so submissively, and rise again with so much deformity.

7. I will adde two that escaped by their Accusers own fault. *Quintus Flavius* the Augur was accused by *Valerius* the Ædil, and proved guilty to the People; and being condemn'd by the Votes of fourteen Tribes, cryed out he was innocently condemn'd. To whom *Valerius* made answer with a loud voice, that he car'd not whether he were put to death Guilty or Innocent, so he were put to death. Which violent speech brought over the rest of the Tribes to his Adversaries side. He had cast his enemy: when he certainly thought him ruin'd, he restor'd him; and lost the victory, even in the victory it self.

8. *C. Cosconius* found guilty by the *Servilian* Law, and for many evident and notorious crimes condemned, was sav'd by one Verse recited in the Sessions-House by *Valerius Valentinus* his Adversary, signifying by a Poetical Joke, that he had defil'd a noble Youth and a free Virgin. For they thought it unjust that he should go away Victor, who rather deserv'd to give the Palm from himself, than to take it from another. Therefore was *Valerius* rather condemned by

by the Absolution of *Coseonius*, than *Coseonius* freed at his Trial.

9. I will touch upon those also whose Crimes having ruin'd all their hopes, have been pardon'd for the renown of their Relations. *A. Attilius Calatinus* being condemn'd for having betrayed the Town of *Sora*, and a person otherwise infamous, only a few words of *Q. Maximus*, his Father-in-law, sav'd from the threatning danger: wherein he affirmed, that if he found him guilty of that crime, he would break off his affinity. Presently the People yielded up their own to the judgment of one man; believing it an unworthy thing, not to believe his Testimony, whom they had entrusted in the greatest Dangers of the Commonwealth.

10. *M. Æmilius Scaurus* also guilty of Bribery, made so lame and pitiful defence at his Trial, that his Accuser said openly, that he should have liberty to name an hundred and twenty witnesses for himself; and that he would be content to have the prisoner acquitted, if he could produce so many in the Province, from whom he had never taken any thing. Yet, though he could not make use of so fair a condition, he was freed for the sake of his Nobility, and the fresh memory of his Father.

11. But as the Fame of Great men has prevailed to protect the Guilty, so has it as little avail'd to oppress them: rather it has bin a safeguard to them in the height of Prosecution. *P. Scipio Æmilianus* accused *L. Cotta* to the Prætor; whose cause, though it were full of deep crimes, was seven times delayed, and the eighth judgment acquitted him. For those wise men were loath it should be thought that his Condemnation had bin, because his Accuser was so great a person. And therefore I believe they reason'd thus amongst themselves: We must not admit him

him that ſeeks the life of another, to bring Triumphs, Trophies and Spoils to the ſeat of Judgment: Let him be terrible to his Enemy; but let not a Citizen, truſting to his high Merits and great Honour, proſecute a Citizen.

12. Not more eager were thoſe Judges againſt a moſt noble Accuſer, than theſe were mild toward a Criminal of a far lower degree. *Callidius* of *Bononia*, being taken by night in the Husbands Bed-chamber, being brought to anſwer for the Adultery, he buoyed himſelf up among the greateſt and moſt violent waves of Infamy, ſwimming like corn in a Shipwrack, laying hold upon a very ſlight kind of defence. For he pleaded, that he was carried thither, for the Love of a Servant-boy. The place was ſuſpected, the time ſuſpitious, the Miſtreſs of the houſe was ſuſpected, and his Youth ſuſpected: But the confeſſion of a more intemperate Luſt, freed him from the Crime of Adultery.

13. The next is an example of more concernment. When the two Brothers of *Clælius* were brought to anſwer for Parricide, whoſe Father was kill'd in his bed, while the Sons lay aſleep in the ſame Chamber, and neither Servant nor Freed-man could be found upon whom to faſten the ſuſpicion of the Murther: They were both acquitted, only for this reaſon, that it was made appear to the Judges, that they were both found faſt aſleep with the door open. Sleep, the certain mark of innocent ſecurity, ſav'd the unfortunate. For it was adjudg'd impoſſible, that having murthered their Father, they could have ſlept ſo ſecurely over his wounds and blood.

PERSONS *Condemned.*

1. Now we will briefly touch upon thoſe, to whom things

things beside the question did more harm, than their own Innocency did good. *L. Scipio*, after a most noble Triumph over King *Antiochus*, was condemned for taking Money of him. Not that I think he was brib'd to remove beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, him that was lately Lord of all *Asia*, and just going to lay his victorious hands upon *Europe*. But being otherwise a man of a most upright life, and free far enough from any such suspicion, he could not resist that envy that haunted the two famous Sirnames of the two Brothers.

2. *Scipio* was a person of high splendour. But *Decianus*, a person of unspotted Integrity, was ruin'd by his own tongue. For when he accused *P. Furius*, a man of a lewd life, because that in some part of his Declamation he ventured to complain of the Death of *Saturninus*, did not only not condemn the Guilty, but suffered the Punishment appointed for him.

3. The same case overthrew *C. Titius*. He was innocent, and in favour with the People for the *Agrarian* Law. But because he had the statue of *Saturninus* in his house, the whole College of Magistrates with one general consent ruined him.

4. We may to these adde *Claudia*, whom though innocent of a crime, an impious Imprecation ruined. For being crowded by the multitude, as she returned home from the Playes, she wished that her Brother, by whom we had the greatest loss of our Naval Forces, were alive again, that being made often Consul, he might by his ill conduct rid the City of the pesterment of the People.

5. We may pass to those whom the violence of Condemnation snatched away for slight causes. *M. Mulvius*, *Cn. Lollius*, *L. Sextilius* Triumvirs, because they did not come so quickly, as they ought, to quench a Fire that happend in the *Holy way*, being cited before

fore the People at a prefixed day by the Tribune, were condemned.

6. *Publius Villius* also, Nocturnal Triumvir, being accused by *Aquilius* the Tribune, fell by the Sentence of the People, because he was negligent in going his watch.

7. Very severe was that Sentence of the People, when they deeply fin'd *M. Æmilius Porcina*, being accused by *L. Cassius*, for having built his House in the Village of *Alsium* a little too high.

8. Nor is that Condemnation to be suppress of one, who being over-fond of his little Boy, and being by him desir'd to buy him some Chitterlings for Supper; because there were none to be got in the Country, kill'd a Plough-Ox, to satisfie the Boys desire. For which reason he was brought to publick Trial: Innocent, had he not lived in the antient times.

Neither Quitted nor Condemned.

1. Now to say something of those, that being questioned for their Lives, were neither quitted nor condemned. There was a Woman brought before *Popilius Lenas* the Prætor, for having beaten her Mother to Death with a Club. But he Prætor adjudged nothing against her, neither one way nor other. For it was plain, that she did it to revenge the death of her Children, whom the Grand-mother, angry with her Daughter, had poysoned.

2. The same demur made *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*. A woman of *Smyrna* killed her Husband and her Son, understanding that they had killed another Son of hers, a hopeful young man, which she had by a former Husband. *Dolabella* would not take cognizance of the Cause, but sent it to be determined by the *Areopagi* at *Athens*. Unwilling to set a wo-

man at liberty, defiled with two Murthers, nor to punish her whom a just Grief had mov'd to do it. Considerately and mildly did the *Roman* Magistrate: nor did the *Areopagite* act less wisely, who examining the cause, bound the Accuser and the Criminal to appear an hundred years after, upon the same ground as *Dolabella* acted. Only he by transmitting the Trial, they by deferring, delay'd the difficult Sentence, or Condemnation or Acquittal.

Chap. II.

Of remarkable private Judgments, whereby were condemned

1. T. Claud. Centumalus.
2. Octacilia Laterensis.
3. C. Titinius Minturnensis.
4. *A certain person for riding a horse farther than hired for.*

TO *Publick* Judgments I will adde *private* ones, the Equity whereof in the Complainants will more delight than a great number offend the Reader.

1. *Claudius Centumalus* being commanded by the Augurs to pull down some of the height of his House, which he had built upon the *Cœlian* Mount, because it hindered them from observing their Auguries from the Tower, sold it to *Calpurnius Lanatius*, concealing the command of the Augurs. By whom *Calpurnius* being compelled to pluck down his House, brought *Marc. Porcius Cato*, father of the famous *Cato*, to *Claudius* as an Arbitrator, and the form of Writing, *Whatever he ought to give him, or do in good Equity.*

Cato,

Cato, understanding that *Claudius* had for the nonce suppreſt the Augurs Edict, presently condemned him to *Calpurnius*; with all the Justice in the world. For they that sell according to Conscience and Equity, ought neither to enhance the hopes of the Bargain, nor conceal the Inconveniencies.

2. I have recited a Judgment famous in those times: Yet what I am about to relate, is not quite buried in silence. *C. Viſellius Varro* being taken with a great fit of Sickneſs, suffered a Judgment of three thousand pieces of Money, as borrowed of *Otacilia Laterenſis*, with whom he had lived as her Gallant: With this designe, that if he died, she might claim that sum of the Heirs; colouring the Liberality of his Luſt, under the title of a Debt. After that, *Viſellius*, contrary to *Otacilia's* wishes, recovers. Who offended that she had loſt her prey by his recovery, from a close Friend began to act like an open Usurer, challenging the Money, which as shamelesly as vainly she gap'd for by a void contract. Which *Aquillius*, a man of great authority and knowledge in the Civil Law, being chosen to be Judge of, consulting with the Principal Men of the City, by his Prudence and good Conscience foyled the woman. And if by the same form *Varro* might have been condemned, and the adversary absolved, no question but he would have willingly puniſh'd his foul and unwarrantable folly. Now he stifled the calumny of a private Action, and left the crime of Adultery to publick Justice.

3. Much more stoutly and with a souldierlike Gallantry did *Marius* behave himself in a Judgment of the same nature. For when *T. Titinius* of *Minturnum* married *Fannia* his wife, because he knew her to be unchaſt, and having divorc'd her for the same crime, would have kept her Dower: he being chosen Judge, and having examined the business, took *Titinius*

aside, and perswaded him to proceed no farther, but to return the woman her Dower; but finding that all his perswasions were in vain, and being forced to pronounce Sentence, he fin'd the woman for Adultery a Sesterce, and *Titinius* the whole summ of the Portion. Telling them, that therefore he had observed that method of judgment, because it seem'd to him apparent, that he had married *Fannia*, whom he knew to be a lewd woman, that he might cheat her of her estate. This *Fannia* was she, who afterwards, when *Marius* was proclaimed an Enemy, received him into her house at *Minturnum*, all bedaubed with mud and durt, and assisted him what lay in her power; remembring that he had adjudged her for Unchastity, out of his rigorous manner of life, but that he had saved her Dower, out of his Religion and Piety.

4. That Judgment was also much talked of, by which a certain person was condemned for theft, because having borrowed a Horse to carry him to *Aricia*, he rode him to the furthermost cliff of that City. What can we do here but praise the Modesty of that Age, wherein such minute excesses from Honesty were punished?

CHAP.

Chap. III.

Of Women that pleaded Cauſes before Magiſtrates.

1. Amaſia Sentia.
2. Afrania, *the wife of* Licinius Buccio.
3. Hortenſia Q. F.

NOr muſt we omit thoſe Women, whom the condition of their Sex, and the Garments of Modeſty could not hinder from appearing and ſpeaking in publick Courts of Judicature.

1. *Amaſia Sentia*, being guilty, before a great concourſe of people pleaded her own cauſe, *Titius* the Prætor then ſitting in Court; and obſerving all the parts and elegancies of a true Defence, not onely diligently but ſtoutly was quitted in her firſt Action by the ſentences of all. And becauſe that under the ſhape of a woman ſhe carried a manly reſolution, they called her *Androgynon*.

2. *Afrania*, the wife of *Licinius Buccio* the Senator, being extremely affected with Law-ſuits, always pleaded for herſelf before the Prætor. Not that ſhe wanted Advocates, but becauſe ſhe abounded in Impudence. So that for her perpetual vexing the Tribunal with her bawling, to which the Court was unaccuſtomed, ſhe grew to be a noted Example of Female Calumnie. So that the name of *Afrania* was given to all contentious Women. She dyed when *Cæſar* was Conſul with *Servilius*. For it is better to remember when ſuch a Monſter went out of the world, than when ſhe came in.

3. *Hortenſia*, the daughter of *Q. Hortenſius*, when

the order of Matrons was too heavily taxed by the Triumvirs, and that none of the Men durſt undertake to ſpeak in their behalfs, ſhe pleaded the Matrons cauſe before the Triumvirs, not only with boldneſs, but with ſucceſs. For the image of her fathers Eloquence obtained, that the greateſt part of the Impoſition was remitted. *Q. Hortenſius* then revived in the Female Sex, and breath'd in the words of his Daughter: Whoſe force and vigour if his Poſterity of the Male Sex would follow, ſo great an inheritance of *Hortenſian* Eloquence would not be cut off by one action of a woman.

CHAP. IV.

Of Rackings.

Endured by

1. *The Servant of* M. Agrius.
2. Alexander *the Servant of* Fannius.
3. Philip *Servant to* Fulvius Flaccus.

AND that we may finiſh all ſorts of Judgments, let us recite thoſe Tortures, to which either no credit at all was given, or elſe raſhly too much faith.

1. The Servant of *M. Agrius* was accuſed to have murthered the ſervant of *C. Fannius*, and for that reaſon being rack'd by his Maſter, he conſtantly affirmed, that he did commit the fact. Thereupon being delivered up to *Fannius*, he was put to death. In a little while after, he that was thought to be ſlain, returned home.

2. On the other ſide, *Alexander*, the Servant of *Fannius*, being ſuſpected to have murthered *C. Fl.* a *Roman*

Roman Knight, being ſix times tortur'd, denied that he was any way concerned in it. But as if he had confeſſed it, he was condemned by the Judges, and by *Calpurnius* the Triumvir crucified.

3. *Fulvius Flaccus* the Conſul pleading, *Philip* his Servant, upon whom the whole teſtimony lay, being eight times tortur'd, would not utter a word to his Maſters prejudice. And yet he was condemned as guilty, when one eight times tortur'd had given a more certain argument of Innocence, than eight once tormented had afforded.

CHAP. V.

Of Teſtimonies void or confirmed.

1. *Of the* Cæpio's *and* Metelli's *againſt* Q. Pompey.
2. *Of* Æmilius Scaurus *againſt ſeveral.*
3. *Of* L. Craſſus *againſt* M. Marcellus.
4. *Of* Q. Metellus, *the* Luculli, Hortenſii, *and* Lepeius, *againſt* Gracchus.
5. *Of* M. Cicero *againſt* P. Clodius.
6. *Of* P. Servilius Iſauricus, *againſt a certain perſon.*

1. IT follows that I relate pertinent Examples concerning Witneſſes. *Cneus* and *Servilius Cæpio*, born both of the ſame Parents, and having mounted through all the degrees of Honour to the height of Greatneſs: Alſo the two Brothers *Q.* and *L. Metellus*, of the Conſular and Cenſors Dignity, and the other that had triumphed, giving in ſevere teſtimony againſt *Q. Pompey A. F.* who ſtood accuſed of Bribery: the credit of their teſtimony was not quite

abrogated, by the acquittal of *Pompey*; but it was done ſo, that an Enemy might not ſeem to be oppreſſed by power.

2. *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, Prince of the Senate, proſecuted *C. Memmius* for Bribery, with ſmart teſtimony. He followed *Flavius*, accuſed by the ſame Law, with the ſame fierceneſs; he profeſſly endeavoured to ruine *C. Norbanus*, for Treaſon put to the publick rack: yet neither by his Authority, which was very great, nor by his Piety, of which no man doubted, could he do any of them any harm.

3. *L. Craſſus* alſo, as great among the Judges, as *Scaurus* among the Conſcript Fathers: For he governed their Opinions and Judgments by the potent and happy ſalaries of his Eloquence; Prince of the Court of Judicature, as the other of the Senate: Yet when he ſhot a Thunderbolt of Teſtimony againſt *Marcellus*, it fell heavy indeed, but vaniſhed in ſmoak.

4. Again, there was *Q. Metellus* the holy, the *Luculli*, the *Hortenſii*, *M. Lepidus*, what weight did they not onely lay upon the life of *C. Cornelius* accuſed of Treaſon, but alſo denied that the Commonwealth could ſtand, ſo long as he were ſafe? All which Ornaments of the City, it ſhames me to relate it, were all kept off by the ſhield of Juſtice.

5. What! *M. Cicero*, who by the warfare of the Law attained to the higheſt Honours and the nobleſt place of Dignity, was he not as a witneſs thrown out of the very Camp of his Eloquence, while he ſwore that *Clodius* was at his houſe in *Rome?* for by that one argument of his abſence, the Priſoner fended off the villany which he had committed. And ſo the Judges rather choſe to acquit *Clodius* of the Inceſt, than *Cicero* of the Infamy of Perjury.

6. Among ſo many Witneſſes of high degree, I will

will relate one, whose authority is confirmed by a new manner of reasoning in Court. *Publius Servilius*, a Consul, a Censor, a Triumpher, who added the name of *Isauricus* to that of his Ancestors, when walking by the Court he saw several Witnesses produced against a Criminal, he placed himself among the Witnesses, and to the great admiration of the Parties Friends and Accusers, thus began: *This person*, said he, *most reverend Judges, that pleads, what Countrey he is of, or what course of life he leads, or whether he be deservedly or wrongfully accused, I know not: But this I know, that meeting me once in the* Laurentine *Way, as I was travelling along, in a very narrow passage, he would not alight from his horse; which whether it belong to your cognizance, I know not, do you consider that; I thought it not fit to conceal this matter.* Presently the Judges condemned the Party, scarce hearing any other Witnesses. For the Grandeur of the Speaker prevailed with them, and his Indignation at the contempt of his neglected Dignity; believing that he, that scorn'd to reverence Princes, would not stick to run into any wickedness.

CHAP. VI.

Of those who committed themselves what they revenged in others.

1. C. Lic. Hoplomachus.
2. C. Marius, *six times Consul.*
3. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
4. Q. Varius Ibrida.

NOr must we pass over in silence those, who committed themselves what they condemned in others.

1. *C. Li-*

1. *C. Licinius* ſirnamed *Hoplomachus*, deſired of the Prætor that his Father might be deprived of his eſtate, as one that conſumed it. What he requeſted he obtained. But he himſelf, in a ſhort time after, when the Old-man was dead, preſently waſted a great ſum of Money, and ſeveral Farms left him by his Father. Worthy that viciſſitude of puniſhment; as one that rather choſe to conſume his eſtate, than take it as an Heir.

2. *C. Marius* had acted the part of a great and faithful Citizen, in ruining of *L. Saturninus*, who held forth a Cap to the Slaves, like an Enſigne, inviting them to take up Armes. But when *Sylla* invaded the City with his Army, he himſelf fled to the aſſiſtance of the Slaves, by holding forth the Cap, as the other had done. Therefore while he imitates a fact which he had puniſhed, he found another *Marius*, to ruine him himſelf.

3. But *Caius Licinius Stolo*, by whom the Plebeians were empowred to ſue for the Conſulſhip, when he had made a Law that no man ſhould poſſeſs above five hundred Acres of Land, he purchas'd a thouſand himſelf; and to cover the matter, made over the half to his Son. For which reaſon being proſecuted by *Popilius Lænas*, he was the firſt that fell by his own Law: And taught us, that nothing ought to be impoſed, but what every one firſt impoſes upon himſelf.

4. *Q. Varius*, becauſe of the obſcurity of the place where he was born, ſirnamed *Ibrida*, or half-Citizen, being a Tribune of the People, made a Law againſt the Interceſſion of the Colledge of Tribunes; wherein there was a command to enquire by whoſe treachery the Allies were ſtirr'd to take up Armes, to the great detriment of the Commonwealth. For firſt he ſtirred up the War of the Allies, and then the Civil War. But

But while he acts the part of a peſtiferous Tribune, before that of a certain Citizen, his own Law cut him off, entangled in his own domeſtick ſnares.

CHAP. VII.

Of Study and Induſtry.

Among the ROMANS.

1. M. Cato *the Greater.*
2. Cato *of* Utica.
3. M. Terentius Varro.
4. C. Livius Druſus.
5. Paulus *the Senator and* Pontius Lupus.
6. Craſſus Mutianus.
7. Q. Roſcius, *the Comedian.*

FORREIGNERS.

1. Demoſthenes *of* Athens.
2. Pythagoras *of* Samos.
3. Plato *of* Athens.
4. Democritus *of* Abdera.
5. Carneades *the* Cyrenæan.
6. Anaxagoras *the* Clazomenian.
7. Archimedes *of* Syracuſe.
8. Socrates *the* Athenian.
9. Iſocrates *the* Athenian.
10. Chryſippus *of* Tarſus.
11. Cleanthes *of* Aſſium.
12. Sophocles *of* Athens.
13. Simonides *of* Ceji.
14. Solon *of* Athens.
15. Themiſtocles *of* Athens.

WHerefore do I delay to commemorate the force of Induſtry? By whoſe active ſpirit the Stipends of Warfare are corroboraetd, and the glory of the Forum is enflamed; all Studies are cheriſhed in her faithful breaſt: Whatever is performed by the Hand, by the Minde, by the Tongue, by her is added to the heap of applauſe; which being an admirable vertue, ſtrengthens her ſelf yet more by her own Conſtancy.

1. *Cato*

1. *Cato* in the fourſcore and ſixth year of his age, while he perſiſts with a youthful vigour in defending the Commonwealth, accuſed of a Capital Crime by his Enemies, pleaded his own Cauſe: Yet no man ever obſerved ſo large a Memory, a greater ſtrength of Body, or leſs heſitation of Speech. Becauſe he kept all thoſe things in equal condition, and perpetually exerciſed by Induſtry. And at the very concluſion of his laborious life, he oppoſed his own moſt eloquent Defence to the Accuſation of *Galba* touching *Spain*,

The ſame perſon deſired to learn the *Greek* Language: How late, we may thence gueſs, in that he was an old man before he learnt to read *Latine*. But when he had won great Honour by his Eloquence, he did it to make himſelf skilful in the Civil Law.

2. Whoſe wonderful Offspring, nearer to our age, *Cato* alſo, burn't with ſuch a deſire of learning, that in the very Court it ſelf, before the Senate fill'd, he would be reading *Greek* Books. By which Induſtry he ſhewed that ſome want time, others have more than they need.

3. But *Terentius Varro*, an Example of Humane Life, and one that might be truly call'd, *A ſpace of years*; not ſo much for his years, which were equal to an Age of Time, as for the vivacity of his Style. For in the ſame Bed his Breath, and the courſe of his egregious Works expired.

4. *Livius Druſus*, a man of the ſame perſeverance, who defective in vigour of Age and Eye-ſight, moſt bountifully interpreted the Civil Law to the People, and compoſed moſt profitable Monuments for them that deſire to learn it. For though Nature might make him old, and Fortune blind, yet neither could prevent him from being vigorous and quick-ſighted in minde.

5. But

5. But *Paulus* the Senator, and *Pontius Lupus* a *Roman* Knight, famous Pleaders in their times, having both loſt their ſight, with the ſame Induſtry continued at the Bar. Therefore were they alſo more frequently heard, amid the concourſes of ſome that were delighted with their Wit, and of others that admir'd their Conſtancy. For they that are diſheartned by ſuch Misfortunes, generally deſire diſmiſſion, adding voluntary to fortuitous darkneſs.

6. Now *P. Craſſus*, when he came Conſul into *Aſia* againſt King *Ariſtonicus*, with ſo much care he comprehended in his minde the knowledge of the *Greek* tongue, that he underſtood it, though divided into five Dialects, in all its parts and quantities. Which mightily won him the love of the Allies, while he anſwered every one in the Language wherein they made their requeſts before his Tribunal.

7. Let not *Roſcius* be left out, a notable Example of Theatrical Induſtry, who never expoſed to the People any other Action or Geſture, but what he had ſtudied before at his own houſe. Therefore did not the Art of Playing make *Roſcius* eſteemed, but *Roſcius* made the Art of Playing eſteemed; whereby he obtained not onely the favour of the people, but the familiarity of Princes. Theſe are the rewards of an intent, anxious, and never-ceaſing Study: For which reaſon the perſon of a Player is not impudently inſerted among the praiſes of ſo many great men.

FOR RAIGNERS.

1. The *Grecian* Induſtry alſo, becauſe it was very advantageous to ours, ought to receive the fruit which it deſerves from the *Latine* Tongue. *Demoſthenes*, upon the mentioning of whoſe name ariſes in the thoughts

thoughts of the hearers the perfection of the greatest Eloquence, when in his youth he could not pronounce the first Letter of the Art which he so much affected, with so much labour vanquished the defect of Pronunciation, that no man ever pronounced it naturally more freely. Then again, having a shrill squeaking Voice, harsh to the ear, he brought it at length to a grave and acceptable Tone. Then being but a weakly man, he borrowed from labour and practice, that strength of Body which nature had denied him. For he comprehended several Sentences in one breath, and pronounced them walking up hill with a swift pace. And standing upon the Sea-side, made his Declamations to the roaring of the Waves, that he might enure his ears with patience to the clamours and noises of tumultuous Assemblies. He is reported also to have accustomed himself to speak much and long with stones held in his mouth, that he might speak with more freedom when it was empty. He warred against Nature, and came off Victor; with a most obstinate strength of minde overcoming her malignity.

2. And that we may ascend to a more antient act of Industry, *Pythagoras*, a most perfect work of wisdome from his Childhood, and inflamed with a desire of understanding all Honesty and Vertue, went into *Egypt*, where being accustomed to the language, he search'd the Commentaries of all the antient Priests, and brought away the Observations of innumerable Ages. Then travelling into *Persia*, he delivered himself up to be taught by the exact prudence of the *Magi*: From whom he treasur'd up in his docible minde the Motions of the Stars; their Courses, their Effects, Properties, and Force, being courteously explained to him. From thence he visited *Creet* and *Lacedæmon*, into whose Laws and Manners having made inspection, he descended to the *Olympian* Games; where

where when, to the admiration of all *Greece*, he had given evident demonstration of his multiplied knowledge, being ask'd by what Title he went by, he made answer, that he was not *Wise*, (for that title belong'd only to the seven most excellent men) but a *Lover of Wisdome*. He also travelled into part of *Italy*, then called the bigger *Græcia*, in the chiefest and richest Cities whereof he shewed the effects of his Studies. Whose burning Funeral-Pile *Metapontus* beheld with eyes full of veneration: A Town more famous for *Pythagoras* Tomb, than the monument of its own ashes.

3. *Plato* having *Athens* for his place of Nativity, and *Socrates* for his Master, both place and man fertil in Learning; fraught also himself with a celestial abundance of Wit, when he was accounted the wisest of all Mortals, to that degree, that if *Jupiter* should descend from Heaven, he could not make use of a more elegant or happier Eloquence; yet for all this he travell'd to *Egypt*, where he learnt from the Priests of that Nation, the manifold secrets of *Geometry*, and the reason of their Celestial Observations. And at the same time that the studious Gentlemen of *Athens* sought for *Plato*, whom every one strove to have his Tutor, he by visiting the riddle-like Banks of *Nile*, and vast Regions, extended Barbarisme, and the winding Canals of a strange Countrey, of an Ancient Master became a Scholar. No wonder then that he travell'd into *Italy*, there from *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, *Timæus*, *Arion* and *Cæus* of *Locri*, to learn the precepts of *Pythagoras*. For so great a plenty, so great an abundance of Learning was every where to be collected, that it might easily be dispersed from one place to another, through the whole world. He had also under his head at above four-

score

ſcore years of age, when he lay a dying, the jeasts of *Sophron*. So that the laſt hour of his Life was not free from the exerciſe of Study.

4. But *Democritus*, for all his vaſt wealth, which was ſo great, that his Father could have given a Banquet to the Army of *Xerxes*, that his minde might be more free for the ſtudy of Letters, keeping a ſmall pittance to himſelf, gave all the reſt to his Countrey. Then abiding at *Athens* for ſeveral years, ſpending all his time in gaining and practiſing learning, he liv'd unknown in the City, as he teſtifies in a certain Volume. I am in a maze at ſo much Induſtry, and therefore muſt go on.

5. *Carneades* was a laborious and diuturnal Souldier of Wiſdome's: For after the expiration of ninety years, he made one end of Living and Philoſophizing. He had ſo addicted himſelf to the works of Learning, that when he ſate down to eat, buſie in his thoughts, he would forget to reach his meat. But *Meliſſa*, whom he kept as a Wife, dutiful to ſupply his hunger, never went to interrupt him, but fed him. So that he lived only in his Soul, which was encompaſs'd with a ſuperfluous body. Being to diſpute with *Chryſippus*, he purged his body beforehand with Hellebore, to explain his own minde more attentively, and refel his adverſary more powerfully. Which Potions he made afterwards to be coveted on purpoſe by ſuch as were covetous of applauſe.

6. What can we think was the zeal of *Anaxagoras* for Learning? Who returning home after a long Travel, and ſeeing his eſtate lye untill'd and waſte; *I had not been ſafe*, ſaid he, *had not theſe decayed*. An expreſſion becoming far-fetch'd Wiſdome. For had he labour'd more in the manuring his Lands than his Minde, he had remained Maſter of his family at home,

home, but had not returned into his Country the great *Anaxagoras*.

7. I might say that the Industry of *Archimedes* was very profitable, but that it gave him life, and took it from him again. For when *Syracuse* was taken, *Marcellus* was sensible that his Victory was much delayed by his Engines, yet infinitely taken with the Prudence of the person, he commanded the Souldiers to spare his Life; assuming perhaps almost as much glory in saving *Archimedes*, as in destroying *Syracuse*. But while *Archimedes* was making Figures with his minde and eyes fixed upon the ground, a Souldier, that was broken into his house to plunder, with his drawn Sword asked him who he was. The Philosopher was so intent, that he return'd him no direct Answer, but parting the dust with his finger, *Have a care*, said he, *of spoyling this Circle*. Thereupon, as one that slighted the Victor of the Empire, the Souldier cut off his Head, and blended his blood with the Lineaments of his Art. Thus the same Study gave him his Life, and deprived him of it again.

8. Most certain it is that *Socrates*, when he was stricken in years, began to learn Musick; believing it better to learn that Art, late than never. How little an accession of knowledge was that to *Socrates*? Yet the obstinate Industry of the person, to so much wealth and treasure of Learning, would also adde the profitable Elements of Musick. Thus while he thought himself poor to learn, he made himself rich to teach.

9. And that we may reduce the Examples of a long and successful Industry to one head; *Isocrates* compos'd that most noble Book, entitled Παναθηναϊκὸς when he was fourscore and four years of Age, yet a work full of life and spirit. By which it appears, that the members of learned men growing old, yet

their Minds, by the benefit of Industry, retain the full vigour of Youth. Nor did he end his days, till he had five years enjoyed the fruit of the admiration of his work.

10. Lesser bounds terminated the life of *Chrysippus*, yet was he not short-liv'd; for he left behind him the thirty ninth Book of his *Logicks*, a book of exact nicety, begun in the Eightieth Year of his Age. Whose Study in delivering the monuments of his Wit, took up so much time and labour, that a longer life would be requisite to understand the depth of his writings.

11. Thee also, *Cleanthes*, so industrious in searching after, and so laboriously delivering Wisdome, the Deity of Industry could not but admire; when she beheld thee in thy youth, maintaining thy self by carrying water in the Night, in the Day a diligent hearer of *Chrysippus*, and till the Hundredth year within one, with attentive care instructing thy Disciples. With a double labour thou hast taken up the space of one Age, making it uncertain, whether thou wert a better Scholar or a Master.

12. *Sopholces* had also a glorious combat with Nature, as liberal of his wonderful Works, as she was liberal in giving him long Time to compose them. For he lived near an Hundred years, his *Oedipus Coloneus* being written by him just before his death. By which one Tragedy he won the honour from all the Poets in that way: Which *Jophon*, the Son of *Sophocles*, would not have concealed from Posterity, and therefore caused it to be inscribed upon his Fathers Tomb.

13. *Simonides* the Poet at Fourscore years of Age boasts himself, that he taught Verses, and contended for the prize at those years. Nor was it but reason that he should long enjoy the fruit of his own Wit, who

who was himſelf to communicate them for the benefit of eternity.

14. Now for *Solon*, how induſtrious he was, he has declared in his Verſes: Wherein he ſignifies, that he grew old, always learning ſomething; and the laſt day of his life confirmed it. For as his Friends were ſitting by him, and diſcourſing among themſelves upon ſome ſubject or other, he lifted up his head, then juſt about to bow to fate; and being asked why he did ſo; *That when I underſtand*, ſaid he, *what it is you are diſputing upon, I may dye.* Certainly Sloath had bin baniſhed from among mankinde, if all men ſhould come into the world with the ſame Spirit that *Solon* left it.

15. How great was the Induſtry of *Themiſtocles!* Who though he had the care of the greateſt affairs of his Countrey upon his ſhoulders, yet was able to remember the particular names of all his fellow-Citizens. And being through high Injuſtice driv'n from his Countrey, and compell'd to fly to *Xerxes*, whom a little before he had vanquiſh'd in battle, before he came into his preſence, he accuſtom'd himſelf to the *Perſian* language, that having purchaſed commendation by labour, he might render the Tone of his voice familiar, and ſo cuſtomary to the Kings ear.

16. The Applauſe of both which ſorts of Induſtry, two Kings divided between them: *Cyrus* remembring all the names of his Souldiers; *Mithridates* learning two and twenty ſeveral Tongues ſpoken within his Dominions. The firſt, that he might addreſs himſelf to his Army without a Director: The other, that he might diſcourſe to the people, whom he govern'd, without an Interpreter.

Chap. VIII.

Of Eaſe praiſed.

Romans.	Forraigners.
1. P. Æmilianus *and* C. Lælius.	1. Socrates *of* Athens.
2. Mutius Scævola, *Augur.*	2. Achilles *in* Homer.

EAſe, becauſe it ſeems to be contrary to Induſtry, but chiefly to Labour, ought to be briefly touch'd upon: Not that which extinguiſhes, but which recreates Vertue. For the ſloathful ought to avoid the one, and the brave and ſtout may deſire the other. They, that they may not live like Drones; theſe, that by a ſeaſonable intermiſſion from toyl, they may be the fitter for Labour.

1. The famous pair of Friends, *Scipio* and *Lælius*, united together not only by the bond of Love, but by an aſſociation of all other Vertues; as they perform'd the journey of a painful life with equal ſteps, ſo they generally relax'd from buſineſs by conſent. For it is certain, that at *Caieta* and *Laurentum*, they uſed to gather up Shells and little Stones upon the Shoar. And this *L. Craſſus* often reported from the mouth of *Q. Scævola*, who was Son-in-Law to *Lælius*.

2. As for *Scævola*, as he was the moſt certain witneſs of their Relaxation, ſo he himſelf was wont to play at Ball; having us'd to delight himſelf in that ſort of exerciſe, when the weight of his buſineſs was over. Sometimes he was wont to ſpend his time at Cheſs

Chess and Tables, after he had bin long ordering the Rights of his Citizens, and the Ceremonies of his Gods. For as he acted *Scævola* in serious things, so he shewed himself but only Man in his Sports and Recreations, as whom Nature will not suffer to abide continual Labour.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. This *Socrates* saw, to whom no part of Wisdom was obscure: which made him that he did not blush, when *Alcibiades*, setting a reed between his legs, laugh'd at him for playing with his little Children.

2. *Homer*, a Poet of a Celestial Wit, seem'd to be of the same minde, when he fitted the soft Harp to the Martial fingers of *Achilles*, to ease their Military pain with the soft recreations of Peace.

CHAP. IX.

Of the force of Eloquence.

In ROMANS.	STRANGERS.
1. Mu. Valerius Maximus *Dictator.*	1. Pisistratus *of* Athens.
2. Marcus Antonius *the Orator.*	2. Pericles *of* Athens.
3. C. Aurelius Cotta.	3. Hegesias *of* Cyrene.

THough it be certain that the force of Eloquence is infinitely prevalent; yet is it convenient that it should be displayed under proper Examples, to the end the power thereof may be the better testified.

1. The Kings being ejected, the Common-people in diſſention with the Fathers, betook themſelves to Armes, and pitch'd upon the Banks of the River *Anio*, upon the holy Hill. So that the ſtate of the Commonwealth was not only bad, but in a moſt miſerable condition, the reſt of the body being divided from the head. And unleſs Eloquence had befriended *Valerius*, the hopes of ſo great an Empire had bin ruin'd in its Infancy. For he by an Oration reduc'd the people, glorying in a new and unwonted freedome, to their obedience to the Senate, brought them to take ſober counſels, and joyn'd the City to the City. Therefore to eloquent words, Wrath, Conſternation and Armes gave way.

2. Which alſo reſtrain'd the Swords of *Marius* and *Cinna*, raging with an impetuous deſire of ſhedding Civil blood. For certain Souldiers being ſent by their Captains to take off the Head of *M. Antonius*, ſtupified with his language, they return'd their drawn Swords unſtain'd with blood into their Scabbards. Who being gone, *P. Antronius*, who had not heard the voice of *Mar. Antonius* to the Souldiers, performed the ſevere command, barbarouſly obſequious to his Maſters. How eloquent therefore may we think him to be, whom none of his Enemies durſt adventure to kill, who would but admit his charming language to his ears!

3. Divine *Julius*, the perfect Pillar as well of the celeſtial Deities as of humane Wit, demonſtrated the force of his own Eloquence, ſaying in his Accuſation of *Cn. Dolabella*, whom he convicted of Bribery, that the beſt cauſe in the world had been extorted from him by the Patronage of *C. Cotta*. For then the greateſt force of Eloquence complain'd. Of which having made mention, becauſe I can bring no greater Example at home, we muſt travel abroad.

STCAN-

STRANGERS.

1. *Pisistratus* is reported to have prevail'd so far by speaking, that the *Athenians* taken only with his Oration, permitted him the Regal Sway: And, which was more, when *Solon*, the greatest Lover of his Country, endeavoured all he could to the contrary.

2. But *Pericles*, together with his happy endowments of Nature, carefully polish'd and instructed by his Master *Anaxageras*, laid the yoak of Servitude upon the free necks of the *Athenians*. For he swayed the City, and carried affairs which way he pleas'd. And when he spoke against the Will of the People, his language nevertheless was pleasing and popular. and therefore the calumniating Wit of the *Old Comedy*, though it would be snarling at his Power, yet confess'd, that there was an Elequence sweeter than Honey that hung upon his Lips; and that it left certain stings in the mindes of them that heard it. It is reported that a certain person, who being very old, chanc'd to hear the very first Oration of *Pericles* a young man, who at the same time had heard *Pisistratus* then decrepit with age, could not contain himself from crying out, *That that Citizen ought to be lookt after, because his Oration was most like to the Oration of* Pisistratus. Neither did the man fail in his judgment of the Speech, nor the presage of his disposition. For what was the difference between *Pisistratus* and *Pericles*, but that the first held the Government by force of Armes, the other governed without force?

3. What may we think of the Eloquence of *Hegesias* the *Cyrenian*? Who so represented the miseries of Life, that his words taking deep root in the hearts

of his hearers, begot a desire in many to seek a voluntary Death? And therefore he was forbid by King *Ptolomie* to dispute any farther upon that subject.

CHAP. X.

Of Pronuntiation, and apt Motion of the Body.

In ROMANS.	STRANGERS.
1. C. Gracchus.	1. Demosthenes *the* Athenian.
2. Q. Hortensius.	
3. M. Tullius.	

But the Ornaments of Eloquence consist in apt Motion of the Body, and due Pronuntiation: Wherewith when she has furnished her self, she assails men three ways; by invading their Mindes, and delivering up the ears of the one and the eyes of the other to over-persuasion.

1. But to make this good in famous men; *C. Gracchus*, more happy in his Eloquence than his Designes, because he strove with a turbulent Wit rather to disturb than defend the Commonwealth, as often as he spoke to the People, had a Servant that understood *Music* behinde him, who with an Ivory Pipe regulated the tone of his Voice, raising the note when it was too low, and pitching it lower when it was too high and eager: Because heat and violence of action, did not suffer him to be a true Judge of the equality.

2. *Quintus Hortensius* thinking there was very much to be ascribed to a decent and comly motion of the Body, spent more time in practising that, than in studying

ſtudying for Eloquence. So that it was hard to know, whether the Concourſe were greater to hear or ſee him: So mutually did his Aſpect ſerve his words, and his words his Aſpect. And therefore it is certain, that *Roſcius* and *Æſopus*, the moſt skilful Actors in the world, would be always in Court when *Hortenſius* pleaded, to carry away his poſtures to the Stage.

3. Now as for *M. Cicero*, he has himſelf declar'd, how great a value he ſet upon both theſe things, of which we have diſcours'd, in his Oration for *Gallius*, reproaching *Calidius* the Accuſer, that when he affirm'd that he would prove by Witneſſes, Writings, and Examinations, that the Party accus'd had prepared poyſon for him, he did it with a ſmooth Countenance, a faint Voice, and a calm manner of ſpeaking, whereby he detected as well the fault of the Orator, as the argument of his weak cauſe, concluding thus; *Couldſt thou do thus*, M. Calidius, *unleſs thou didſt but counterfeit?*

STRANGERS.

1. Conſentaneous to this was the judgment of *Demoſthenes*, who being ask'd what was the moſt efficacious part that belong'd to ſpeaking, anſwered, ὑπόκρισις, or diſſimulation of Speech and Geſture. Being again and a third time asked the ſame queſtion, he gave the ſame anſwer; confeſſing that he owed almoſt all to it. Therefore was it rightly ſaid of *Æſchines*, who leaving *Athens* becauſe of the Judicial Ignominy put upon him, and going to *Rhodes*, when he had there repeated his own Oration againſt *Cteſiphon*, and the Oration of *Demoſthenes* for him, with a loud and pleaſing voice, and that all admir'd the Eloquence of both, but ſomewhat more that of *Demoſthenes*;

moſthenes; *What would ye have ſaid*, replied he, *had ye heard him himſelf?* So highly did ſo great an Orator, and now ſo inveterate an enemy, adore the force and efficacy of his Adverſaries Eloquence; confeſſing himſelf not to be a competent reader of his works: having experimented the vigour of his Eyes, the weight of his Countenance, and the perſwaſive Motions of his Body. And therefore nothing can be added to the work: yet in *Demoſthenes* a great part of *Demoſthenes* is abſent, which is read rather, than heard.

CHAP. XI.

Of the rare effects of the Arts.

Among the Romans.

1. *In the Aſtrology of* C. Sulpitius Gallus.
2. *In the Divination of* Spurina.

Among Strangers.

1. Pericles's *Aſtrology.*
2. Apelles's *painting, and* Lyſippus *the Statuary's Art.*
3. Alcamenes's Vulcan.
4. Praxiteles's Venus.
5. Euphranor's Neptune.
6. Timanthes's Agamemnon.
7. Nealces's *Horſe.*

THe Effects alſo of the Arts repeated may afford ſomething of pleaſure: Whereby it will appear immediately how profitably they were invented. Things worth remembrance will be treaſur'd up in a light place; and the labour of bringing them forth, will not want its reward.

1. The great care of *Sulpitius Gallus* to furniſh himſelf

himſelf with all manner of Learning, was very profitable to the Commonwealth. For being Lieutenant-General to *L. Paulus*, waging War againſt *Perſeus*, and the Moon happening to be eclipſed in a fair Night, whereby our Army was ſo terrified, looking upon it as ſome ſtrange Prodigy, that they had almoſt loſt all their Courage; he by a skilful diſcourſe of the order of the heavenly Bodies, and the nature of the Stars, rid them of all their vain fears. So that the Liberal Arts of *Gallus* were in ſome meaſure the occaſion of that famous Victory of *Paulus*. For had he not vanquiſhed our Souldiers fear, the *Roman* General could not have overcome his Enemies.

2. More efficacious was the knowledg of *Spurina* in following the admonitions of the Gods. For he foretold to *C. Cæſar*, that he ſhould have a care of the next thirty days as fatal, the laſt of which was the *Ides* of *March*: Upon that day in the morning, when they both met at the houſe of *Calvinus Domitius*, cries *Cæſar* to *Spurina*, *Doſt thou know that the* Ides *of* March *are now come?* And he, *Doſt thou not know, that they are not yet paſt?* The one had caſt off all fear, believing the time ſuſpected to be over; though the other did not think the laſt Minute to be void of danger. Would to Heaven the Diviner had rather fail'd in his Augury, than that the Parent of our Countrey had fail'd in his Security!

STRANGERS.

1. But to dive into Forreign effects; When upon the Suns being eclipſed upon a ſuddain, the *Athenians* were all in a maze at the unuſual darkneſs, believing their own ruine to be foretold by the Celeſtial Portent; *Pericles* went into the crowd, and diſcourſed what he had learnt from his Maſter *Anaxagoras*, touching

touching the Course of the Sun and Moon: nor did he permit his fellow-Citizens to tremble any farther with vain fear.

2. How great was the honour that *Alexander* the King gave to Art, who would not suffer himself to be painted by any other but *Apelles*, nor to be cast in Plaister by any other than *Lysippus*?

3. The *Vulcan* of *Alcamenes*, made with his own hands, fixes the eyes of all *Athens* upon it. For among all the rest of the foregoing marks of curious Workmanship, they admire also this, that he stands with one foot, hiding under his garment his dissembled Lameness: artificially signifying not the deformity, but the certain and proper mark of the God.

4. Whose Wife *Praxiteles* placed in Marble in the Temple of the *Gnidians*, as it were breathing, by reason of the Workmanship, not safe from the lustful embraces of *Macareus* the *Perinthian*. Which renders the errour of a Horse more excusable, who seeing the Picture of a Mare, neigh'd after it: and the barking of Dogs, at the sight of a Dog painted; and the Bull mov'd to Lust, upon sight of the brazen Cow in *Syracuse*, cast to the Life. For why should we wonder to see irrational Creatures deceived by Art, when we finde a sacrilegious Desire in Man rais'd up at the sight of a dumb stone?

5. But Nature as she suffers Art sometimes to emulate her works, so sometimes she dismisses it, quite tir'd with labour in vain; which the hands of the famous Artist *Euphranor* experimented: For when he painted twelve Gods at *Athens*, he finished the Picture of *Neptune* with the most Majestick Colours he could invent, intending yet to have outdone that in the Picture of *Jupiter*. But all his Invention being exhausted in the former work, his last endeavours could not come near his expectation.

6. What

6. What ſhall we ſay of that other famous Painter, who repreſenting the doleful Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, when he had placed about the Altar *Calchas* ſad, *Ulyſſes* ſorrowful, and *Menelaus* lamenting, by wrapping up of *Agamemnon*'s face did he not confeſs, that the bitterneſs of the height of grief could not be expreſt by Art? Therefore his Picture moiſten'd with the tears of the Southſayer, her Friends and Brother, he left it to Affection to judge of the Father's Grief.

7. And that I may adde one Example of the ſame Art; A famous Painter had painted a Horſe, new coming from being hard exercis'd, ſo rarely, that all that could be ſaid was, that the Horſe was not alive. But when he came to adde the froath to his Noſtrils, ſo great an Artiſt ſpent many days without any ſatisfaction to himſelf. At length, vexed to ſee himſelf diſappointed, he took up a Spunge that lay next him bedaub'd with all ſorts of Colours, and went about to rub out his own work. But Fortune directing his hand firſt to the Noſtrils of the Horſe, the Spunge did that by chance, which all his Art could not effect. So that what his own Shadows could not, Chance compleated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

That we muſt yield to the beſt Maſters of Art.

As was done by the ROMANS.

1. Furius *and* Cæſellius *in the Prædiatorian Law.*

By STRANGERS.

1. Euclid *in* Geometry.
2. Philo *in* Architecture.
3. Apelles *in* Painting.

NOw that we may not doubt but that every one is the beſt Actor and Diſcourſer in his own Art, let us by a few Examples make it appear.

1. *Q. Scævola*, a moſt famous and moſt certain Interpreter of the Law, as often as he was conſulted upon the Prædiatorian Statute, ſent his Clients to *Furius* and *Cæſellius*, who ſtudied that part. Whereby he rather commended his own Moderation, than leſſen'd his authority; confeſſing that they were beſt able to give advice in that matter, whoſe daily practiſe it was. Therefore are they the wiſeſt Profeſſors of their Art, who have a modeſt eſteem of their own, and a cunning reſpect for the Studies of others.

STRANGERS.

1. This opinion lodg'd in the learned breaſt of *Plato*. Who when the Undertakers came to confer with him about the manner and form of the *holy Tower*, ſent them to *Euclid* the Geometrician, giving way to his Knowledge and Profeſſion.

2. *Athens* glories in its Arſenal, not without cauſe: For it is a work worthy to be ſeen for its coſt and Elegance.

Elegance. The Architect whereof, *Philo*, is ſaid to have given ſo eloquent an account in the Theater of his purpoſe, that the moſt eloquent of people were ſway'd as much by his Eloquence, as by his Art.

3. Wonderfully was it done by that Artiſt, who ſuffered himſelf to be corrected by a Cobler, as to the Shoes and the Latchets: But when he began to talk of the Thigh, forbid him to go beyond the Foot.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Memorable Old Age.

In ROMANS.

1. M. Valerius Corvus.
2. L. Metellus, *the High-Prieſt.*
3. Q. Fabius Maximus.
4. Perpenna *the Cenſor.*
5. Appius Claudius *the blind.*
6. *Women*, Livia, Terentia *and* Clodia.

Strangers.

1. Hiero *King of* Sicily, *&* Maſſaniſſa *King of* Numidia.
2. Gorgias Leontinus.
3. Xenophilus *of* Chalcis.
4. Argantinus *King of the* Gaditans.
5. Æthiopians, Indians, *and* Epimenides *the* Cnoſſian.
6. *The* Epii, *a people of* Ætolia.
7. Dantho, *and two Kings of the* Lachnii.

LEt Old Age, prolonged to the utmoſt, have a place in this work, among the Examples of Induſtry, but with a particular Title and Chapter. That we may not ſeem to have forgotten thoſe, to whom the Gods were principally indulgent. Inſiſting upon which, every one may make himſelf more happy in reſpect

respect of his antient felicity; and may affirm the happiness of our age, than which none was ever more happy, by prolonging the safety of a wise and great Prince, to the longest bounds of humane life.

1. *M. Valerius Corvus* liv'd out his hundredth year; between whose first and sixth Consulship were forty six years compleat. Nor did his full strength of body not only not fail him, in the highest employments of the Commonwealth, but also for the manuring his Land: a desireable Example of a Commonwealths man, and a Master of a Family.

2. Which space of years *Metellus* equall'd: And the fourth year after his Consular Government, being created *Pontifex Maximus* when he was very old, he govern'd the Ceremonies of Religion two and twenty years, his tongue never tripping in pronouncing the Votes, nor his hand trembling in preparing the Sacrifices.

3. *Q. Fabius Maximus* threescore and two years held the Priesthood of the Augurship, having obtain'd it when he was a strong man. Which two times being added together, will easily compleat the age of an hundred years.

4. What shall I say of *M. Perpenna?* Who outliv'd all those that he call'd over in the Senate, when he was Consul; and only saw seven remaining of the Conscript Fathers, whom as Censor with *Lu. Philippus* he had chosen; more durable than the greatest Order in the world.

5. I might conclude the life of *Appius* with his misfortune, because he lived long after he was blind; but that he had five Sons and five Daughters, and a multitude of Clients in his Protection, and in that condition most stoutly govern'd the Commonwealth. At length weary with living, he caus'd himself to be carried into the Senate-house in a Litter, to hinder peace from

from being made with *Pyrrhus* upon dishonourable Conditions. Can this man be thought blinde, by whom his Countrey purely discerning that which was honourable, was compell'd to open its eyes?

6. Several Women have been no less eminent for long Life, whom it shall suffice only to name. For *Livia* the wife of *Rutilius* numbered fourscore and seven, *Terentia* the wife of *Cicero* a hundred and three, and *Clodia* the wife of *Ausilius*, having outlived fifteen Children, an hundred and fifteen years.

STRANGERS.

1. I will adde to these, two Kings, whose long life was very advantageous to the People of *Rome*. The King of *Sicily*, *Hiero*, numbred ninety years. *Massanissa* King of *Numidia*, reigning threescore years, was superiour to all men in vigour of age. *Cicero* in his Book of *Old Age*, reports of him, that no shower or cold could compel him to cover his head. He was wont also to keep his station for several hours, and would never stir from hard labour, till he had tired the young men: And if it were requisite for him to do any thing sitting, he would oft-times for a whole day sit in the same posture, without moving his body for ease, either one way or other. When he led his Army a Horseback by day, he never alighted that night; omitting none of those labours, which youth is wont to endure, when he was of that extream age. And so vigorous he was in reference to Women, that he begat his Son *Methymnatus*, when he was fourscore and six years of age. The Countrey also which he found untill'd, by perpetual culture he left very fruitfull.

2. *Gorgias* also of *Leontium*, the Master of *Isocrates* and several other great men, by his own saying was

most happy. For when he had lived an hundred and seven years, being asked why he would live so long: *Because*, said he, *I ayle nothing to accuse my Old Age.* What could be longer or more happy than such a tract of Life? For being entered into the second Century of years, he neither found any cause of complaint in it, nor left any behinde him of it.

3. *Xenophilus* of *Chalcis* wanted two of his years, yet not inferiour in enjoyment of health. For as *Aristoxenus* the Musician saies of him, Free from all the inconveniencies of old Age, he died in the full splendour of consummate Learning.

4. *Arganthonius* the *Gaditane* reigned so long, as would have sufficed another to live. For he govern'd his Kingdom fourscore years, being forty years of age before he came to the Throne: For which there are most certain and credible Authors. *Asinius Pollio*, not the least part of *Roman* Eloquence, in the third Book of his History, relates him to have lived an hundred and twenty years: No mean example of sinewy vigour.

5. The *Ethiopians* render the long life of this King less admirable; whom *Herodotus* writes to have exceeded an hundred and twenty years: and the *Indians*, of whom *Ctesias* delivers the same. And *Epimenides* the *Gnossian*, whom *Theopompus* reports to have lived an hundred fifty and seven years.

6. *Hellanicus* also avers, that certain of the *Epii*, who were a people of *Ætolia*, lived two hundred years; with whom *Damasthes* agrees, adding this moreover, that one *Litorius* among them, of an exceeding great strength and stature, compleated three hundred years.

7. *Alexander*, in his Volume of the *Illyrian* Tract, affirms, that one *Dantho* lived full out five hundred years, without the least complaint of Age. But much

much more liberal is *Xenophon*, who gives to the King of the *Lachnii* eight hundred years of Life. And that his Father might not take it ill, he allows him six hundred.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Desire of Honour.

Among the Romans.	STRANGERS.
1. P. Africanus *the Greater.*	1. Themistocles *of* Athens.
2. D. Brutus Gallaicus.	2. Alexander *the Great.*
3. Cn. Pompey *the Great.*	3. Aristotle *the* Stagyrite.
4. Sulla *the Happy.*	
5. *A certain Knight.*	4. Pausanias *of* Macedon.
6. C. Fabius Pictor.	5. Herostratus.

HOnour, whence it arises, or of whatsoever it may be the Habit, or how it ought to be purchas'd, and whether it may not be neglected by vertue, as unnecessary, let them take care that employ their Contemplations upon these things, and who are able eloquently to express what they have prudently observed. I in this work being content to finde out Authors for deeds, and deeds for Authors, shall endeavour to finde out by proper Examples, how great the desire of it is wont to be.

1. The Elder *Africanus* would have the Effigies of *Ennius* placed among the Monuments of the *Cornelian* Family, because he thought his Acts illustrated by his Wit. Not ignorant, that as long as the *Roman* Empire might flourish, and *Africa* lay captive at the feet of *Italy*, and that the Capitol possess'd the Pillar of

the whole World, their Remembrance could not be extinguished; especially enlightned by the Beams of Learning: A man more worthy of *Homer*'s, than a rude and unpolish'd Eulogy.

2. The same was the honorable minde of *D. Brutus*, a famous Captain in his time, toward *Accius* the Poet: With whose familiar Courtship and acute applauses being mainly delighted, he adorn'd the Entries of the Temples, which he had consecrated out of his Spoils, with his Verses.

3. Neither was *Pompey* averse from this affectation of Glory, who bestowed upon *Theophanes* the *Mytelenian*, a Writer of his Acts, a whole City, in a Harangue before the Souldiers. Prosecuting the Grandeur of his Gift, with an accurate and approved Oration.

4. *L. Sulla*, though he minded no Writer, yet he so vehemently assum'd to himself the honour of *Jugurth*'s being brought to *Marius* by King *Bocchus*, that he wore that Delivery in his Seal Ring. Afterwards how great an admirer of Honour, the slightest footstep whereof he ador'd!

5. And that I may adde to Generals the noble minde of a Souldier; When *Scipio* was dividing the Military gifts to those that had done bravely; *T. Labienus* putting him in minde of giving a Golden Bracelet to an eminent and stout Knight; which the General refusing to do, that the honour of the field might not be violated in him, who had serv'd but a little before, he gave the Knight Gold himself out of the *Gallic* plunder. Neither did *Scipio* put it up silently: *For*, said he to the Knight, *thou hast the Gift of a rich man.* Which when he had taken, casting the Gold at *Labienus* feet, he held down his Countenance. But when *Scipio* said to him, *The General gives thee Silver Bracelets*, he went away with a chearful Countenance.

So

So that there is no Humility so great, which is not touched with a desire of Glory.

6. It is also sought sometimes out of the lowest things. For what meant *C. Fabius*, that most noble Commonwealths man? For when he painted the walls of the Temple of *Safety*, which *C. Junius Bubulcus* had consecrated, he inscribed his Name upon them. For that only Ornament was wanting to a Family most famous for Consulships, Priesthoods, and Triumphs. And though he stoopt to a mercenary Art, yet he would not have his labours obliterated, how mean soever: they were following the example of *Phidias*, who included his own face upon the Shield of *Minerva*, in such manner, that if it were pull'd away, the whole work would be quite spoiled.

STRANGERS.

1. But better had he done to have imitated *Themistocles*, had he bin taken with forraign Examples; who is reported to have bin so prick'd with the sting of Honour, that he could not sleep a nights; and being ask'd, what he did abroad at that time of the night, made answer, *That he could not sleep for the Trophies of* Miltiades. For *Marathon* rous'd up his noble Minde to ennoble *Artemisium* and *Salamis* with Naval Glory. The same person going to the Theater, and being ask'd whose voice was most pleasing to his ears, made answer, *His that shall sing my acts the best and loudest.* He added as it were an honourable sweetness to Honour it self.

2. The Breast of *Alexander* was insatiable of Applause; who when *Anaxarchus* his Companion, by the authority of *Democritus*, affirm'd, that there were innumerable worlds; *How miserable then*, said he,

am I, that have not conquered one! Man thought his Honour too much confin'd, that had not all that which ſuffices for the Habitation of the Gods.

3. I will adde the thirſt of *Ariſtotle* after Honour, as great as that of a King and a young man. For he had given certain Books of Oratory to *Theodectes* his Diſciple, to put forth in his own name: and being afterwards vex'd that he had let go the Title to another, inſiſting upon ſome things in his own Volume, he addes, that he had diſcourſed more plainly of them in the Books of *Theodectes*. Did not the Modeſty of ſo great and ſo diffuſive a Science withhold me, I would ſay, he was a Philoſopher, whoſe great parts ought to have been delivered to a Philoſopher of a nobler Soul. But Honour is not contemn'd by thoſe that deſire to introduce the Contempt of it. For to thoſe very Volumes they diligently ſet their Names, that what they take away by Profeſſion, they may attain by Uſurpation of Memory. But this diſſimulation of theirs, whatever it be, is more to be endur'd than the purpoſe of thoſe, who while they labour for eternal Memories, ſtrive to become famous by wickedneſs.

4. Among which I know not whether *Pauſanias* may not be firſt mentioned; for when he had ask'd *Hermocrates* how he might ſuddenly become famous, and that the other had anſwered, By killing ſome great perſon, preſently went and ſlew *Philip*. And indeed what he coveted he had; for he render'd himſelf as infamouſly famous for the Murther, as *Philip* was eminent for his Vertue to Poſterity.

5. But this deſire of Glory was ſacrilegious. For there was one found out, who would ſet on fire the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, that by the deſtruction of that lovely Pile, his name might be known to the whole world. Which fury of his minde he diſcove-

red

red upon the Rack. Yet the *Ephesians* had taken care, by a Decree, to abolish the memory of the worst of men, had not the eloquent Wit of *Theopompus* comprehended the fact in his History.

CHAP. XV.

What Magnificent things befel to every one.

To ROMANS.

1. P. Africanus *the Greater.*
2. M. Cato *the Censor.*
3. P. Scipio Nasica.
4. P. Scipio Æmilianus.
5. M. Valerius Corvus.
6. Q. Mutius Scævola.
7. C. Marius.
8. Cn. Pompey *the Great.*
9. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
10. Cato *of* Utica.
11. L. Marcius *a* Roman *Knight.*
12. Sulpitia Ser. *daughter of* Q. Flaccus.

STRANGERS.

1. Pythagoras Samian.
2. Gorgias *the* Leontine.
3. Amphiaraus *the Prophet.*
4. Pherenica *a* Grecian *Woman.*

WHat Magnificent things have deservedly befaln every one, being put to publick view, will afford delight to ingenious minds: because the value and force of the Rewards, and the contemplation of Honours, is equally to be considered. Nature affording us a kind of pleasure, when we see Honour industriously coveted, and gratefully repaid. But though the Minde is carried here immediately to a splendid House, the bountiful and most honoured Temple, it will be better restrain'd. For to him to whom the ascent to Heaven is free, though the greatest, yet they are

less than what are due, which are bestowed on Earth.

1. To *Scipio Africanus* the Consulship was granted long before his time. To whom what was assign'd him in his life-time, would be too long to relate, because they are many; and not necessary, as being in part already related. And therefore I will adde what is at this day eminent. He has an Image placed in Great *Jupiters* Temple, which when there is any Funeral of the *Cornelian* Family, is fetch'd from thence: So that to that onely Image is the Capitol like a Porch, or place where those Images are usually placed.

2. As truly as was the Senate-House it self to the Elder *Cato*'s Image, from whence it is brought forth upon the same occasions of that Family. A Grateful Order, that would have so profitable a Member always dwell with them, wealthy in all the Gifts of Vertue, and great rather by his own Merit, than by the benefit of Fortune; by whose counsel *Carthage* was ruin'd, before it was laid waste by the Sword of *Scipio*.

3. A rare Example of Honour arises also from *Scipio Nasica*. For by his Hands, and into his House, before he was yet a Questor, the Senate by the command of *Pythian Apollo*, would have the *Mother of the gods* received and entertained, when recalled from *Pessinuntes*. Because the same Oracle ordered those Offices to be done to the *Mother of the gods* by a most holy man. Unfold all the *Fasti*, set all the Triumphal Chariots together, and you shall finde nothing more splendid than such a preeminency in Manners.

4. The *Scipio*'s often produce their Ornaments to be remembred by us. For *Æmilianus* was made a Consul by the People, when but a Candidate for the

Ædilship

Ædil-ſhip. Which the Army adviſed the Senate ought to be done. So that it is hard to know, whether the Authority of the Conſcript Fathers, or the Counſel of the Souldiers added moſt Honour to him. For the Gown made *Scipio* Conſul againſt the *Carthaginians*, but the Sword defired him. And again, when he went into the field to the Election of the Queſtors, to give his voice for *Q. Fabius*, the Son of *Maximus*'s Brother, they brought him home a Conſul. To the ſame perſon the Senate gave a Province without Lot, firſt *Africa*, then *Spain*. And theſe things neither to an ambitious Senator nor Citizen; as the moſt ſevere courſe of his Life, and his clandeſtine Death, being ſlain by treachery, declar'd.

5. As for *M. Valerius*, the Gods as well as his Fellow-Citizens made him famous for two things: The firſt by ſending a Crow for his defence, when he fought hand to hand with the *Gaul*; the other giving him the Conſulſhip at three and twenty years of Age. The *Valerian* Family aſſumes the name of *Corvinus*: The other is added as an Ornament, glorying as well in the earlineſs of the Conſulſhip, as in the priority of being made ſo.

6. Nor was the Glory of *Q. Scævola*, whom *L. Craſſus* had for his Colleague, leſs illuſtrious, who obtain'd *Aſia*, and ſo ſtoutly and ſo juſtly held it, that the Senate by their Decree propounded *Scævola* as a Preſident and Example for others, that were to go into the ſeveral Provinces of the Empire.

7. Thoſe words of the Younger *Africanus* produced the ſeven Conſulſhips and two Triumphs of *C. Marius*; for he was full of joy to his dying day: Who when he ſerved on Horſeback under that Captain, *Scipio* being asked at Supper, if any thing croſs ſhould befal him, whom the Commonwealth would have equally great with him; the General looking upon

upon *Marius*, sitting a little below him, *Even this man*, answered he. By which Augury it cannot be well conjectured, whether the most perfect Vertue more certainly foresaw a Rising vertue, or whether he more efficaciously inflamed him to it. For that Military Supper portended to *Marius* the most splendid future Suppers in the whole City. For when the Messenger brought the News, at the beginning of the Night, that the *Cimbrians* were overthrown, there was no man that offer'd not at his Table, as it had been the Altar of the Immortal Gods.

8. Now what large and new Honours were heap'd upon *Pompey*, partly by the flattery of Favour, partly by the noise of Envy! Being a *Roman* Knight, he was sent Consul into *Spain*, with equal command to *Pius Metellus* Prince of the City. Before he had stood for any Honour, he triumph'd twice. The beginnings of Magistracy he took from the chief Command. The Third Consulship he sway'd alone, by the Decree of the Senate. He triumph'd at once over *Mithridates*, *Tigranes*, and several other Kings, Nations, Cities, and the Pirats.

9. *Q. Catulus* also was, by the voice of the People of *Rome*, within a little advanc'd to the Stars. For being ask'd by him in the Common-hall, whether they persever'd to repose the whole management of all things in one *Pompey*, they cried out with one voice, *In thee*. The great force of a judgment of Reputation, which equall'd *Catulus*, included in the space of two Syllables, to the great *Pompey*, with all the Ornaments that I have related.

10. The reception of *M. Cato* returning out of *Cyprus*, with the Royal Money, may seem wonderful: To whom at his landing the Consuls, and other Magistrates, the Senate and all the People of *Rome* attended out of duty. Rejoycing not at the vast weight

weight of Gold and Silver, but for that *Cato* had brought back the Navy safe.

11. But I cannot tell whether the Example of the unusual Honour done to *L. Marcius* be not one of the chief; whom the two Armies upon the death of *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, torn and shattered by the Victory of *Hannibal*, chose him their General, when their safety was reduced to the last gasp, leaving no place for Ambition.

12. Deservedly *Sulpitia* deserves to be remembred after the Men, the Daughter of *Servius Paterculus*, and the Wife of *Fulvius Flaccus*: Who when the Senate, upon the Decemvirs inspection into the *Sibylls* Books, had decreed that the Image of *Venus* Turn-heart should be consecrated, whereby the minds of the women might be changed from Lust to Chastity; and that of all the Matrons an hundred, out of an hundred ten were chosen by Lot, to give judgment concerning the most chast Woman, she was preferr'd before all the rest.

STRANGERS.

1. But because Forraign Honours may be related without any diminution of our *Roman* Majesty, let us pass over to them. The Hearers of *Pythagoras* gave him so much Veneration, that they accompted it a Crime to question what they had received from him: And being asked the reason, they onely answered, that *He had said it*. A great Man, but no farther than his School hitherto. However, the same veneration was given him by Cities. The *Crotoniates* earnestly desired of him, that their Senate, which consisted of a Thousand People, might take advice of him. And that opulent City, so frequently venerating his House after his death, made it a Chappel to *Ceres*.

Ceres. And while that City flouriſhed, a Goddeſs was worſhipped in the remembrance of Man, and a Man in the remembrance of a Goddeſs.

2. *Gorgias* of *Leontium* ſo far excelled all perſons of that Age in Learning, that at all Aſſemblies he was wont to ask, what ſubject they would hear him diſpute upon; and for that reaſon all *Greece* ſet him up a Statue of maſſie Gold in the Temple of *Apollo*; when the reſt, of his time, had only gilded Images.

3. The ſame Nation by conſent ſtrove to honour *Amphiaraus*, by reducing the place where he was buried, into the form and ſtate of a Temple, and ordering Oracles to be there taken. Whoſe Aſhes poſſeſs the ſame Honour as the *Pythian* Den, *Dodona*'s Brazen Dove, or the Fountain of *Hammon*.

4. Nor was that a vulgar Honour done to *Pherenice*, to whom alone of all women it was permitted to be preſent at the ſight of Wraſtling, when ſhe brought to the *Olympic* Games her Son *Euclea*, begot by *Olympionices*, while his Brothers having obtained the ſame Lawrels, ſate by her ſides.

LIB.

Lib. IX.

Chap. I.

Of Luxury and Luſt.

Roman *Examples.*

1. C. Sergius Orata.
2. Clodius *the Son of* Æſopus *the Tragedian.*
3. *Women oppoſers of the* Oppian *Law.*
4. Cn. Domitius *and* L. Craſſus *Conſuls.*
5. Q. Metellus Pius.
6. C. Scribonius *Son of* Curius.
7. P. Clodius *his judgment.*
8. Gemellus *a Tribunician Traveller.*
9. L. Catiline.

STRANGERS.

1. Hannibal *Son of* Amilcar.
2. Vulſinians.
3. Xerxes *the* Perſian *King.*
4. Antiochus *the* Syrian *King.*
5. Ptolomey *King of* Egypt.
6. *The* Egyptians.
7. *The* Cyprians.

LEt Luxury, a flattering Crime, more eaſie to accuſe than ſhun, be inſerted into this Work of ours: Not to receive any Honour, but that coming to know her ſelf, ſhe may be compelled to Penitence. Let Luſt be joyn'd with her, becauſe it ariſes from the ſame Principles of Vice. Nor let them be ſeparated from reprehenſion, or amendment, that are tyed

tyed together by a double errour of the Minde.

1. *C. Sergius Orata* was the first that made hanging Baths; which cost having but a slight beginning, extended it self almost to Seas of Hot-water.

The same person, because he would not have his Palace subject to the power of *Neptune*, invented peculiar Seas to himself, and separated sholes of divers sorts of Fish within the large circuits of vast Moles, to the end no Tempest whatever should deprive his Table of his desired Dainties. He also burdened the (till then) desert Banks of the Lake *Lucrinus* with stately and high Buildings, that he might keep his Shell-fish fresh. Where while he plunges himself too deep into the publick Water, he was hurried to the Judgment-Seat by *Considius* the Publican. Where *L. Crassus*, pleading against him, said, *That his friend* Considius *err'd, if he thought that* Orata, *being removed from the Lake, would want Oysters: for if he could not have them there, he would finde them upon the Tiles.*

2. To this man *Æsopus* the Tragedian ought rather to have given his Son in Adoption, than to have left him the Heir of his Goods; a young man not only of a desperate, but a most furious Luxury. Of whom it is reported, that he gave vast prices for Birds that could sing or talk, to have them served up at his Table instead of *Fig-peckers*; and that he used to put Pearls of high value, dissolv'd in Vinegar, into his drinks; as if he had strain'd to throw away a most famous Patrimony, like some burthen too heavy for his shoulders. Since, some in imitation of the Father, others of the Son, have extended their hands farther. For no Vice ends where it begins. This it is that fetches out Fish from the various shoares of the Sea, and spreads our Kitchins with Oysters. For the pleasure of eating and drinking was found out by Art and Cost.

3. But

3. But the end of the ſecond *Punic* War, and the overcoming of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, made us with more confidence addict our ſelves to Luxury. At what time the Matrons were ſo bold as to beſet the Houſe of the *Brutii*, who by the abrogation of the *Oppian* Law, were prepar'd to intercede for that which the women deſir'd ſhould be taken away; becauſe it did not permit them to wear a coloured Garment, nor to have about them above half an Ounce of Gold, nor to ride in a Chariot to any place within a Mile from the City, unleſs it were to the Sacrifices: and they obtain'd, that the Law kept for above twenty years, ſhould be aboliſhed. For the men of that Age did not foreſee whither the obſtinate Plots of Women would tend, nor how far a boldneſs that had vanquiſh'd the Law would tend. For could they have look'd into the contrivances of female cunning, that brings in ſomething of ſumptuous Novelty every day, they had ſtopped the progreſs of Luxuy at its firſt entrance.

4. But what do I talk any more of Women? whom weakneſs of Minde, and the affectation of greater employments denied them, incites them to beſtow all their time in trimming up themſelves, when I finde Men fallen into this divertiſement, unknown to the antient Continence? And let it appear to their reproach.

Cneus Domitius, upon a quarrel with *L. Craſſus* his Colleague, objected to him, that he had *Hymettian* Pillars in his Houſe. Whom *Craſſus* immediately ask'd, what he valued his own Houſe at? When he anſwer'd, *Threeſcore Seſterces*. *And how much, think you*, ſaid the other, *if I ſhould cut ten little ſhrubs out of it? Thirty Seſterces*, ſaid the other. *Which then is the moſt Luxurious of the two*, replied *Craſſus*, *I that bought ten Pillars for an hundred thouſand pieces of*

Money,

Money; or thou, that valueſt the ſhadow of ten ſmall Trees at thirty Seſterces? An expreſſion forgetful of *Pyrrhus*, unmindful of *Hannibal*, and yawning with the abundance of Forreign Luxury; becauſe they had rather bequeath the Daintineſs and curioſity which they themſelves had begun, to their Poſterity, than retain the Continence which their Fore-fathers had left them.

5. For what meant that Prince of his time, *Metellus Pius*, when he ſuffer'd himſelf to be received at his firſt coming, with Altars and Frankincenſe? When he beheld the walls of the Rooms ſpread with *Attalican* Tapeſtry, as a ſight that pleaſed him? When he permitted long Plays at tedious Feſtivals? When he wore his Triumphal Garment at the celebration of great Banquets, and contentedly received Crowns let down from open places, as it were from Heaven, upon his celeſtial Head? And where were theſe things? Not in *Greece* or *Aſia*, where Severity itſelf might be corrupted with Luxury; but in a wild and warlike Province, when a formidable Enemy, *Sertorius*, would not let the *Roman* Armies lie quiet, but goar'd them continually with the *Luſitanian* Darts. So much had he forgot the *Numidian* Camp of his father. Whence it appears how ſwiftly Luxury inſinuates it ſelf. For he that in his Youth beheld the antient Cuſtomes, in his old Age introduced new.

6. The ſame change was in the Houſe of the *Curii*; while our City and Judgment-Seat beheld the rigid Brow of the Father, and the high Debt of ſix hundred Seſterces of the Son, contracted by the ignominious Injury done to the Noble Youth of *Rome*. Therefore at the ſame Time, and under the ſame Roof, two ſeveral Ages lived; the one of Frugality, the other of vitious Prodigality.

7. By the Sentence againſt *P. Clodius*, what ſtrange

Luxury

Luxury appeared in him, what a savage Lust? Who, though guilty of Incest, that he might be acquitted, bought whole nights of the Matrons and noble Youth, at vast rates, to pleasure his Judges withal. In which horrid and abominable Crime, I know not which first to detest; whether him that first invented that way of Corruption; or they that suffer'd their Chastity to mediate to Perjury; or they that valued Adultery beyond Justice.

8. Equally abominable was that Banquet, which *Gemellus* a *Tribunitian* Traveller, of good Parents, but one that had betaken himself to a Servile employment, prepar'd for *Metellus Scipio* Consul, and the Tribunes of the People, to the great scandal of the City. For having set up a Stew in his own House, he prostituted therein *Mucia* and *Fulvia*, both taken away from Father and Mother, and *Saturninus* a Youth of a Noble Family. Bodies of infamous suffering, brought to be the scorn of drunken Lust! Banquets not to be celebrated by Consuls and Tribunes, but to have been punish'd.

9. But enormous was the Lust of *Catiline*: For being mad in love with *Aurelia Orestilla*, when he saw one Impediment to hinder him from being married to her, poyson'd his own and only Son, almost of age; and presently kindled the Nuptial Torch at his Funeral-Pile, bequeathing his want of Children as a gift to his new Bride. But behaving himself at length with the same minde as a Citizen, as he had shewed himself a Father, he fell a just Sacrifice to the Ghost of his Son, and his impiously-invaded Country.

STRANGERS.

1. But the *Campanian* Luxury, how profitable was it to our Country? For embracing invincible *Han-*

nibal in the arms of her Allurements, she fitted him to be vanquished by the *Roman* Souldiers. She called forth a vigilant Captain, she invited a couragious Army to long Banquets, and with plenty of Wine, the fragrancy of Oyntments, and the lascivious softness of Venery, inveagl'd them to Sleep and Pleasure. And then was the *Punic* fierceness broken, when it lay encamped among the Perfumers of *Capua*. What then more ignominious than these Vices, what more hurtful; by which Vertue is worn out, Victories languish, Honour stupified is turn'd to Infamy, and the vigour of Body and Minde quite weakned and broken? So that it is hard to say which is worst, to be subdued by them, or by the Enemy.

2. Which infested the City of the *Volsinians* with sad and direful slaughters. It was rich, it was adorn'd with Customes and Laws: it was the Head and Metropolis of *Hetruria*. But when once Luxury crept in, it fell into an Abyss of Injuries and Infamy, till she became subjected to the insolent power of her Servants. Who at first in a small number daring to enter the Senate House, in a short time overturn'd and master'd the whole Commonwealth. They order'd Wills to be made at their own pleasure. They forbad the Meetings and Feastings of the Free-men, and married their Masters Daughters. Lastly, they made a Law, that their Adulteries committed with Widows and Married-women should go unpunished; and that no Virgin should marry a Freeman, unless some of them before had had her Virginity.

3. *Xerxes*, out of the proud imitation of his vast wealth, grew to that height of Luxury, that he propounded Rewards to them that should invent any new Pleasure. What a ruine befel a most wide Empire, too deeply plunged in Pleasure and Voluptuousness!

4. *Antiochus* the King not a whit the more conti-

nent

nent; whose blinde and mad Luxury the Army imitating, had most of them Golden Nails under the soles of their Shoes; and bought Silver Dishes for their Kitchins; and had their Tents of Tapestry-work adorn'd with Gold and Silver. A booty more desireable by a needy Enemy, than any delay to a stout Souldier from Victory.

5. *Ptolomey* the King liv'd by the accession of his Vices, and was therefore call'd *Physcon*: Than whose Wickedness there could be nothing more wicked. He married his eldest Sister, married before to their common Brother; then having vitiated her Daughter, he divorced the Sister, that he might marry the Daughter.

6. Like to their Kings were the People of *Egypt*, who under the command of *Archelaus*, sallying out of their City against *A. Gabinius*, when they were commanded to entrench themselves, cry'd out, *That that was a work to be done at the publick Charge.* And therefore their Courages, weakned with the softness of Pleasures, could not stand the fury of our Army.

7. But more effeminate were the *Cyprians*, who suffer'd their Women to lye upon the ground, for their Queens to tread upon, when they ascended into their Chariots. For for men, if men they were, it had been better not have lived at all, than to live obedient to such a soft Command.

CHAP. II.

Of Cruelty.

In ROMANS.

1. Cor. Sylla *Dictator.*
2. C. Marius *seven times Consul.*
3. L. Junius Damasippus.
4. Munatius Fla us.

STRANGERS.

1. Carthaginians.
2. Hannibal.
3. Mithridates.
4. Numulizinthes *King of* Thrace.
5. Ptolomey Physcon.
6. Darius Ochus.
7. Artaxerxes Ochus.
8. *The* Athenians.
9. Perillus *of* Sicily.
10. Hetrurians.
11. *Certain Barbarians.*

THis last Society of men carried a lascivious Countenance, Eyes greedy after Novelty of delight, and a Minde transported through all the allurements of Pleasure. But the horrid habit of Cruelty is of another nature; savage Countenance, violent Minds, terrible Utterance, Mouths full of Threats and bloody Commands; to which being silent, is but to increase its fury. For how shall she set bounds to her self, unless she were recall'd by the bridle of reprehension? In short, since it is her business to make herself dreaded, let it be ours, to have her in abomination.

1. *L. Sylla*, whom no man can either sufficiently praise or dispraise; who while he seeks after Victory, represents himself a *Scipio* to the *Roman* People; while he exercises Cruelty, a meer *Hannibal*. For having egregiously defended the cause of the Nobility, cruelly he overflow'd the whole City, and every part of

of *Italy*, with rivers of Civil Blood. Four Legions of the adverſe party, truſting to his Faith, and following his Banners, in a publick Village, in vain imploring the compaſſion of his faithleſs arm, he cauſed to be cut in pieces. Whoſe lamentable cries pierc'd the ears of the trembling City: and *Tibur* was compelled to waſt away their memberleſs Bodies, impatient of ſo heavy a burthen. Five thouſand *Præneſtines*, hope of ſafety being granted them by *Cethegus*, being call'd forth without the Walls of the Free-town, after they had thrown away their Armes, and lay proſtrate upon the ground, he caus'd to be ſlain, and their Bodies to be thrown about the fields. He cauſed a Record to be made of four thouſand ſeven hundred murder'd upon the dire decree of Proſcription. Nor content to rage againſt them who had born Armes againſt him, he added alſo to the number of the proſcribed, ſeveral peaceable Citizens, whoſe names he collected by the *Nomenclator*: He alſo drew his Sword againſt the Women, not ſatisfi'd with the ſlaughter of the men. That was alſo a ſigne of incredible Inſatiety, that he cauſed the Heads of the miſerable creatures, newly cut off, and as yet retaining their Phyſiognomies and Breath, to be brought into his preſence, that what he could not devour with his teeth, he might with his eyes. How cruelly did he carry himſelf toward *M. Marius* the Prætor, who being dragg'd in the ſight of the people to the Sepulcher of the *Lutatian* Family, he would not put him to death, till he had digg'd out his eyes, and broken the ſeveral members of that unfortunate perſon. Methinks I hardly ſeem to relate Truths. And yet becauſe *M. Plætorius* fell into a Swoon upon the Execution of *Marius*, he preſently ſlew him. A new Puniſher of Pitie, with whom to behold wickedneſs with an averſe minde, was to commit a Crime. But ſure he

ſpar'd the ſhades of the Dead? No. For digging up the aſhes of *C. Marius*, whoſe Quæſtor once he was, though afterwards his Enemy, he ſcatter'd them upon the river *Anio*. Behold by what acts he thought to obtain the name of *Happy!*

2. Of which Cruelty however *C. Marius* mitigates the envy. For he out of an eager deſire of proſecuting his Enemies, wickedly unſheath'd his Anger; with an ignoble Severity diſmembring the honoured Body of *L. Ceſar* of the Conſular and Cenſor's Dignity; and at the Sepulcher of a moſt abject and ſeditious perſon: For that miſchief was wanting to the miſerable Republique, That *Ceſar* ſhould fall a Victime to *Varius*. Hardly were his Victories of equal value; which when he forgot, he became more criminal at home, than praiſe-worthy for his Victories abroad. The ſame perſon, when the Head of *M. Anthony*, cut off, was brought him, betray'd much inſolence both of thought and words, as he held it in his joyful hands, in the midſt of a Banquet; ſuffering the Sacred's of the Table to be contaminated with the Blood of a moſt famous Commonwealths man and Orator. More than that, he received P. *Annius*, thas brought it, reaking with the freſh blood, into his Boſome.

3. *Damaſippus* had no praiſe; and therefore his memory may be the more ſeverely proſecuted: by whoſe commands the Heads of the principal Men of the City were mingled with the heads of the Sacrifices; and the headleſs Body of *Carbo Arvina* carried about, nail'd to the Gallows. So that the Pretorſhip of a moſt licentious man could do much, or the Authority of the Commonwealth nothing.

4. *Munatius Flaccus*, a more ſtiff than approved defender of *Pompey*'s party, when he was beſieged by *Ceſar* in *Spain*, within the walls of *Attegua*, he exer-

exercis'd his savage Cruelty after a most truculent manner. For after he had kill'd all the Citizens which he thought well affected to *Cesar*, he threw them headlong from the Walls. He also murder'd the Women, calling their Husbands first that were in *Cesar's* Camp to the walls, to the end they might behold the slaughter of their Wives. Nor did he spare the Children laid upon their Mothers laps; suffering the tender Infants to be some dash'd against the stones, others to be thrown up and to fall upon the stakes. Which things, intolerable to be heard, were executed by *Lusitanians*, at the command of a *Roman*; by whose assistance, *Flaccus* well fortified, withstood the divine Labours of *Cesar*, with a doting obstinacy.

STRANGERS.

1. Let us pass to those, for which though there be the same grief, yet there is not the same reason for our City to bluth. The *Carthaginians* put *Atilius Regulus* to death after a doleful manner. For having cut off his Eye-brows, and shut him up in a little wooden case, wherein there was nothing but sharp nails, they suffer'd him to linger with continual watching, and in a long series of pain. A kind of Torment not worthy him that suffer'd, but becoming the Authors of it. The same Cruelty they used toward our Souldiers, whom being taken in a Sea-fight, they fasten'd under the bottom of their Ships, that being crush'd to death by the weight of the Keel, they might satiate their barbarous fetity, by an unusual kinde of death.

2. Their Captain *Hannibal*, whose chiefest Vertue consisted in Cruelty, made a Bridge over the River *Vergellus* with the bodies of the *Romans*, and so led

over his Army, that the Earth might experiment the wickedneſs of the *Carthaginian* Land-forces, as the Sea had beheld the barbarity of their Mariners. Thoſe whom he had taken priſoners, picking out the neareſt of Kin that he could, he compell'd to fight by pairs, till he made them deſtroy one another. Thoſe that were tir'd he left upon the Road, with the lower part of their Feet cut off. Deſervedly therefore, though too ſlow the puniſhment were, the Senate forced him, when a Suppliant to King *Pruſias*, to a voluntary Death.

3. As truely had they reaſon to abominate *Mithridates*, who with one Epiſtle ſlew fourſcore thouſand *Roman* Citizens, diſpers'd over *Aſia* as Merchants, defiling the hoſpitable Gods of ſo large a Province, with blood unjuſtly ſhed, though not unrevenged. For which intolerable torment, at length he compell'd that Vital Spirit to ſubmit, that contended with the poyſon. Thereby attaining thoſe torments, which he had made his own friends to ſuffer at the beck of *Gaurus* his Eunuch, to whom his obedient Luſt could deny nothing.

4. *Numulizinthis Diogiris* the King of *Thrace*'s Daughters Cruelty, though not ſo much to be admir'd, conſidering the Barbarity of the Nation, yet the horridneſs will not let it be paſs'd in ſilence: who held it not unlawful to cut living men in two in the middle, or for Parents to feed upon the bodies of their Children.

5. Again *Ptolomey Phyſcon* comes upon the ſtage; a little before, a moſt dreadful Example of luſtful Madneſs, now of Cruelty. For what more horrid than this? He caus'd his own Son *Menephites*, whom he had got upon *Cleopatra* his Siſter and Wife, a lovely and hopeful Youth, to be kill'd in his preſence; and ſent the Head, Feet and Hands cut off, and put into

a

a Cheſt, cover'd over with the Child's Garment, as a Birth-day Gift to the Mother. As if altogether ignorant of the miſchief he had done, and never the more unfortunate, for having render'd *Cleopatra* miſerable in the loſs of Children common to both, and himſelf odious to all. With ſo blinde a fury doth the height of Cruelty rage, when ſhe thinks to ſtrengthen herſelf by her own acts! For when he underſtood how he was hated by his people, he ſought a remedy for his fear in wickedneſs; and that he might raign more ſafely when the people were murder'd, he ſurrounded the *Gymnaſium*, full of young people, with fire and ſword, and ſlew, partly by the flame, and partly by ſword, every individual perſon of the whole multitude.

6. But *Ochus*, who was afterwards call'd *Darius*, bound to the *Perſians* by a moſt bloody Oath, that he ſhould not put to Death either by Sword, Poyſon, Starving, or any other manner of violence, any of thoſe that had conſpir'd with him againſt the Seven *Magi*, found out a way of Death, by which means he might rid himſelf of thoſe perſons that were burthenſome to him, and yet ſave his Oath. For he fill'd a place, made up with high walls, full of Aſhes, and putting a leaning rafter underneath, he placed them in it, after he had highly feaſted them; ſo that when ſleep ſhould ſeize them, they might fall into that inſidiary heap.

7. More open, but more horrid, was the Cruelty of *Ochus Artaxerxes*, who buried his Siſter and Mother-in-Law *Ocha* alive: and ſtab'd his Uncle to Death with Darts, after he had deprived him of an hundred Sons and Nephews; for not the leaſt injury done him, but becauſe they had the higheſt applauſe among the *Perſians* for Probity and Fortitude.

8. Guided by the ſame wicked Suſpition, the Citizens

zens of *Athens*, by a Decree unworthy their Honour, cut off the Thumbs of the *Æginensian* Youth; that a People potent in Shipping, might not be able to contend with them at Sea. I cannot pardon the *Athenians*, borrowing a remedy for their fear from Cruelty.

9. Cruel also was that Inventor of the Brazen Bull, wherein when poor Creatures were lock'd, and fire put under it, they seem'd in the midst of their long and tedious torments to low like the beast, that their lamentations and howlings express'd in Humane Sounds, might not reach the ears of *Phalaris* the Tyrant, to move his compassion. Which because he would be wanting to the miserable, the first Authour deservedly experimented the torment of his own Invention.

10. Nor were the *Hetrurians* a little cruel in the Invention of Punishment, who tying the bodies of the living back to back, and face to face together, so that part might answer part, suffer'd them to lye till they were putrified to Death. Most bitter Tormenters of Life and Death at once.

11. Like those Barbarians, who are reported to set men in heaps of the Bowels and Entrails of kill'd beasts, and there to feed and keep them alive, till being putrified within, they might be eaten up by the Vermine that breed in putrified bodies. Can we complain of Nature, for having made us lyable to many and dire inconveniencies of Sickness, or take it ill, that Celestial Strength should be denied to humane condition, when Mortality hath invented so many Torments to ruine it self, by the impulse of Cruelty?

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Anger and Hatred.

1. M. Livius Salinator.
2. C. Marcius Figulus *a Lawyer.*
3. *Patricians.*
4. Roman *Youth.*
5. Roman *Army.*
6. Roman *People.*
7. Q. Metellus *Proconsul of* Macedon.
8. L. Cor. Sylla.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Alexander *the Great.*
2. Amilcar *Son of* Barchas *the* Carthaginian.
3. Annibal *Son of* Barchas *the* Carthaginian.
4. Semiramis *Queen of* Assyria.

ANger and Hatred stir up great Commotions in the breasts of Men. This swifter in its motion, the other more obstinate in the desire of Mischief. Both affections full of Consternation, and never without the violent torment of themselves: For it suffers pain to inflict misery; anxious with a bitter care, lest revenge should happen to miss. But there are most certain images of their propriety, which the gods would have conspicuous in great men, by some more than ordinary Act or Saying.

1. When *Livius Salinator*, waging war with *Asdrubal*, was about to leave the City, being admonish'd by *Fabius Maximus* that he should not fight before he understood the courage and force of the Enemy, made answer, that *He would not refuse the first opportunity of fighting:* And being ask'd by the same person, why he would needs be so hasty; *That assoon as may be,* said he, *I may either win honour by the overthrow of the Enemy,*

Enemy, or rejoyce in the ruine of my Fellow-Citizens. Anger and Vertue divided his ſpeech between them. The one remembring an unjuſt rebuke, the other intent upon the honour of Triumph. But I cannot tell whether it were the ſame thing to ſay this, and to overcome in the ſame manner.

2. Thus far Paſſion carried a man of a fierce Soul and accuſtom'd to War. But *C. Figulus* a moſt milde man, famous for his learning in the Civil Law, was thereby render'd forgetful both of Prudence and Moderation. For being provok'd by being repuls'd from the Conſulſhip, ſo much the rather, becauſe it had been twice given his Father; when many came to him the next day for counſel, turn'd 'em all out a doors: *Are ye ready at asking Counſel*, ſaid he, *and know not how to make a Conſul?* Smartly and deſervedly ſpoken: Yet it had been better not ſpoken. For what wiſe man could be angry with the People of *Rome?*

3. Nor are they to be approved, though protected by the ſplendour of their Nobility, who being offended becauſe that *Cn. Flavius*, a man of mean extract, was made Prætor, took off their Gold Rings and Trappings from their Horſes, and threw them away; ſhewing the impotency, not the ſtrife of vexation.

4. Theſe were the motions of Anger in ſingle or but few perſons againſt a Commonwealth: There are alſo the ſame in the Multitude againſt the Princes and Captains. *Manlius Torquatus* returning after a moſt renowned and compleat Victory over the *Latines* and *Campanians*, when all the Old-people went forth to meet him, the Youth never ſtirr'd; becauſe he had put his Son to death, for fighting ſucceſsfully againſt the Enemy. His equals compaſſionated his too ſevere puniſhment. Nor do I defend the Act, but onely ſhew the force of Anger, that could divide the

Ages

Ages and Affections of a whole City.

5. So much could it prevail, that it detain'd and kept back all the foot of the *Roman* People, ſent by *Fabius* the Conſul to purſue the Enemy, when they might eaſily have ruin'd and cut them off, when they call'd to minde that he had put a ſtop to the *Agrarian* Law. The ſame paſſion rendring the Army offended with *Appius* their Captain uſeleſs, (whoſe Father ſtanding for the Nobility, oppos'd the conveniences of the Commonalty) by a voluntary flight they turn'd their back to the Enemy, becauſe they would not ſuffer their Captain to triumph. How often the vanquiſher of Victory? deſpiſing its congratulation in *Torquatus*; in *Fabius*, omitting the greateſt part; in *Appius*, preferring ſhameful flight before it.

6. How violently it carried it ſelf in the breaſt of the *Roman* People, at that time when the Dedication of the Temple of *Mercury* was granted to *M. Plætorius*, a Centurion, by their Suffrages! The Conſuls being alſo terrified; *Claudius*, becauſe he withſtood the relief of his Debts; and *Servilius*, becauſe he had but weakly defended their cauſe which he undertook. Can Anger be denied to be of force, when it ſets the Souldier above the General?

7. It hath not only pull'd down Authority, but commanded as diſorderly. For when *Q. Metellus*, firſt as Conſul, then for the Conſul, had ſubdued almoſt all *Spain*, and underſtood that *Pompey* the Conſul, his enemy, would be ſent to ſucceed him; he diſmiſſed all that pretended to be acquitted from ſervice; gave licence to the Souldiers to go take their pleaſure, never ſetting any time for their coming again. He left the Magazines upon the Borders free to the plunder of the Enemy; He ordered the *Cretans* Bows and Arrows to be broken and thrown into the River; He forbid any Victuals to be given to the Elephants. By which acts

as

as he gratified his Passion, so he sufficiently sullied the glory of his great Deeds: and lost the honour he had won, being a greater Vanquisher of the Enemy, than of his own Passion.

8. What became of *Sylla*, too obedient to this Vice! After he had shed the blood of others, did he not shed his own? For burning with indignation at *Puteoli*, because that *Granius* Prince of the Colony did not pay in so quickly the Money to the *Decurio's*, which he had promis'd for the repair of the *Capitol*, with a concitation of minde more than ordinary, and an immoderate force of speaking, he vomited up his last breath, mixed with blood and threats. Not failing by old Age, as not being above threescore; but raging with an Impotency, nourished by the miseries of the Commonwealth. So that it is a doubt whether *Sylla* or *Sylla's* Anger were first extinguished.

FORRAIGNERS.

Now it behoves us to fetch Examples from unknown persons; yet there is something of shame in reproaching the Vices of great men. But since the faith of our designe admonishes us to comprehend every thing, the Will must give way to the Work; that the Conscience of declaring necessary things may not be wanting, while we justifie the proof of great things.

1. *Alexander* was kept from Heav'n by his own Anger. For what hinder'd but that he might have risen thither, had not *Lysimachus* thrown to a Lion, *Clytus* run through with a Spear, *Callisthenes* put to death, lost him the fame of three of his greatest Victories, by the unjust slaughter of so many friends.

2. How excessive the Hatred of *Amilcar* toward the *Roman* People! For beholding four Sons of tender Age

Age, and the same number of Lions whelps; *He bred them*, he said, *to the ruine of our Empire.* Fairly brought up, as it hapned, to the ruine of their own Country.

3. Of which Sons *Hannibal* so followed his Fathers steps, that when he was about to cross the Army over into *Spain*, and sacrificing for good success, the Son then but nine years of age, holding his hand upon the Altar, swore, that assoon as his Age would permit him, he would be a most bitter Enemy to the *Romans*; that he might express to his father how willingly he accompanied him in the War then afoot. The same person, that he might shew the Hatred between *Rome* and *Carthage*, happening to stumble, and raise the dust with his foot, *Then*, said he, *there will be an end of the War between these two Cities, when one of them is reduced into dust as this is.*

4. In the breast of a Boy the Force of Hatred was not so prevalent, but that it equally prevailed in a Womans breast. For *Semiramis* Queen of the *Assyrians*, when it was related to her, as she was combing her hair, that *Babylon* was revolted, with one part of her hair loose and dishevell'd, she hasted to its recovery; nor would she bring her hair, till she had reduced the City, into order. And therefore her Statue is placed in *Babylon*, in the same posture as she hasten'd to her Revenge.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Covetousness.

ROMANS. FORRAIGNERS.

1. M. Crassus *and* Q. Hortensius.
2. Q. Cassius Longinus.
3. L. Septimuleius.

1. Ptolomey *King of* Cyprus.

LEt Avarice be brought forth that lurks in hidden places, but a devourer of open prey; unhappy in enjoyment, but most through Insatiability.

1. When certain persons had suborn'd a false testimony against *Minucius Basilius* in *Greece*, who was very rich, to confirm it, they put into his Will, as Heirs, two of the most potent men of our City, *M. Crassus* and *Q. Hortensius*, to whom *Minutius* was altogether unknown. Though the fraud were evident, yet both covetous after the Estate, neither refus'd the gift of a Forreign Crime. How great an offence have I slightly related! The Lights of the Court, and Ornaments of the Seat of Judicature, what they ought to have punish'd, invited by the bait of dishoneſt gain, they protected by their Authority.

2. But it was of greater force in *Q. Cassius*, who let go *M. Silius* and *A. Calpurnius*, being apprehended in *Spain* with daggers, on purpose to have kill'd him; having agreed with the one for fifty, with the other for sixty Sesterces. It may be a question, whether if they had given him as much more, he would not have offer'd them his throat also.

3. But

3. But above all, the Avarice of *L. Septimuleius* was moſt notorious: Who being a familiar Friend of *Gracchus*, not only cut off his Head, but carried it fix'd upon a pole through the City; becauſe *Opimius*, the Conſul, had promis'd a reward in Gold to him that ſhould do it. Some report, that he filled the hollow part of his Scull with melted Lead, that it might be the heavier. Whether he were ſeditious, or died for a good Example, yet the wicked hunger of his friend ſhould not have bin ſo greedy after ſuch injuries to the dead.

FORREIGNERS.

1. The Covetouſneſs of *Septimuleius* deſerved hatred, but the Avarice of *Ptolomey* King of the *Cyprians* is to be laught at. For having by mean devices ſcrap'd together great Riches, and ſaw that he was like to periſh for their ſake; and for that reaſon having ſhipped all his Wealth, was got out to Sea, that by bulging the Veſſels he might periſh at his own leaſure, and fruſtrate his Enemies hopes, could not endure the ſinking of his Gold and Silver, but carried back the future reward of his own Death. Surely he did not poſſeſs, but was poſſeſs'd by Wealth, being in his minde a miſerable ſlave to Money.

Chap. V.

Of Pride and exceſs of Power.

Romans.	Forreigners.
1. M. Fulvius Flaccus *Coſ.*	1. Alexander *the Great.*
2. M. Livius Druſus *Tribune of the People.*	2. Xerxes *King of* Perſia.
3. C. Pompey *the Great, three times Conſul.*	3. Hannibal *the* Carthaginian.
4. M. Antonie *Triumvir.*	4. *The* Carthaginian *and* Campanian *Senate.*

1. NOw that Pride and Exceſs in Power may be brought upon the Stage, *Fulvius Flaccus* Conſul, Colleague with *M. Plautius Hypſæus*, being about to make Laws very pernicious to the Commonwealth, of making free Citizens of *Rome*, and citing ſuch before the People, who would not change their City, could hardly be perſwaded to come into Court. Then when the Senate partly admoniſh'd him, partly beſought him to deſiſt, he gave them no anſwer. He might be accompted a Tyrannical Conſul, who had thus carried himſelf againſt one Senator, as *Flaccus* did againſt the whole Body of ſo Majeſtick an Aſſembly.

2. Whoſe Majeſty was no leſs affronted by the contumely of *M. Druſus*, a Tribune of the People, who made nothing, becauſe *Philip* the Conſul interrupted him in his Speech, to take him by the throat and to hale him to Priſon, not by the hands of an Officer, but of a Client, with that violence, that the Blood guſh'd out of his Mouth. Alſo when the Senate

nate sent to him to come into Court; *Rather*, said he, *why doth not the Senate come to the* Hostilia *to me?* I am ashamed to adde the rest: The Tribune despis'd the Authority of the Senate; the Senate obey'd the Tribunes words.

3. How insolently *Pompey!* who coming out of the Bath left *Hypsæus* prostrate at his feet, accused of bribing for Voices, a Nobleman and his Friend; upbraiding him withal with a contumelious Scoff, telling him, that he came to spoil his Supper. Yet he was not ashamed to require *Scipio*, his Sons Father-in-law, condemned by certain Laws which he had made himself, to the ruine of many Noblemen; governing the Commonwealth according to the carefles of his Nuptial Bed.

4. Vile was the Scoff of *M. Antonie* both in word and deed; For when the Head of *Cæstius Rufus*, a Senator, was brought him, being a Triumvir, the rest turning aside, he caus'd it to be brought near, and diligently viewed it. And when all the standers by listned to hear what he would say; *This fellow*, saies he, *I never knew*. A haughty scorn of a Senator, but the excess of pride toward a man slain.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Enough of our own, now for Forreigners. The Vertue and Felicity of *Alexander* the Great was eclips'd by three most evident degrees of Insolence. For, contemning his Father *Philip*, he acknowledged none but *Jupiter Ammon* for his Father: Laying aside the Customes and Manners of the *Macedonians*, he assumed the Garments and Laws of the *Persians*: despising Mortals, he emulated to be a God. Nor was he ashamed to deny himself to be a Son, a fellow-Countryman, and a Mortal.

2. *Xerxes*, in whose name Pride and Impotency inhabit, how insolently did he use his own power, when being to proclaim War against the *Grecians*, and calling the Princes of *Asia* together; *That I might not seem*, said he, *to take my own advice, I have assembled you: But remember, that it is your part rather to obey than to give Counsel.* Arrogantly said, had he return'd a Victor to his Countrey: But so shamefully beaten, I know not whether more insolently or arrogantly.

3. *Hannibal*, puft up with the success of the Battle of *Cannæ*, neither admitted any of his Countrymen into his Tents, nor gave answer to any but by an Interpreter, and despis'd *Maharbal*, affirming with a loud voice before his Tent, that he saw a way how he might sup in a few days in the Capitol. So unusual a thing it is for Happiness and Moderation to lodge together.

4. There was a kind of emulation between the *Carthaginian* and *Campanian* Senate for Insolencie. For the one wash'd in a Bath apart from the Vulgar; the other made use of a different Judgment-Seat. Which Custome retain'd in *Capua*, is evident in an Epistle of *C. Gracchus* written to *Plautius*.

CHAP.

Chap. VI.

Of Perfidiousness.

ROMANS.

1. T. Tatius *King of the* Sabines.
2. Ser. Sulpitius Galba.
3. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
4. Q. Servilius Cæpio, *Cos.*

FORREIGNERS.

1. *The* Carthaginians.
2. Hannibal *the* Carthaginian.

LEt Perfidiousness, a close and crafty Mischief, be fetch'd out of its lurking holes. Whose most efficacious properties are to lye and deceive: the fruit it reaps from some crime committed: then certain when it holds Cruelty in bonds; bringing as much mischief to Mankinde, as Faith and Truth afford quiet and safety. Therefore let it be as much dispraised, as the other praised.

2. In the reign of *Romulus*, *Sp. Tarpeius* was Governour of the Tower, whose Daughter, a Virgin, going to fetch Water for the Ceremonies, without the Walls, *Tatius* corrupted with Money to let in his armed *Sabines* into the Castle, promising as a Reward what they woreupon their left hands; which were Bracelets and Rings of Gold of a considerable weight. The *Sabines* having got into the place, when the Virgin demanded her reward, they killed her with the weight of their Armes; As it were performing their promise, in regard they also carried their Armes on their left hand. Let there be no blame, while impious Treason was reveng'd with a quick Punishment.

2. *Servius Galba* was a man highly perfidious. For having assembled together the people of several Cities of *Portugal*, upon pretence of treating for their good, he partly kill'd and partly sold seven thousand of them, among which were the flower of their Youth, after he had pickt them out and disarmed them. Thus the greatness of his Crime exceeded the Calamity of the Barbarians.

3. Too great a desire of Glory made *Cn. Domitius*, a person of Noble Extraction and Merit, to become perfidious. For being offended at *Betultus*, King of the *Arverni*, for that he had perswaded both his own people and the *Allobroges*, while he was in the Province, to flie to the Protection of *Fabius* his Successor; Sending for him under pretence of speaking with him, and having received him under his roof, he caus'd him to be fetter'd, and sent him away by Sea to *Rome*. Which act of his the Senate could neither approve nor disannul, left *Besultus*, being sent back into his Countrey, should raise a new War. Therefore they sent him to *Alba* to be secur'd.

4. The slaughter of *Viriatus* admits a double accusation of Perjury; as to his friends, because he was killed in their hands; in *Q. Servilius Cæpio* the Consul, because he was the Author of the fact, and promis'd impunity: not deserving, but buying his Victory.

FORREIGNERS.

1. But that we may take a view of the Fountain of Perfidie it self; The *Carthaginians* pretending to send *Xanthippus* the *Lacedæmonian* home, who had served them, and by whose assistance they had taken *Atilius Regulus*, sunk him in the midst of the Sea. What was the aim of so much Villany? That the companion

nion of their Victory ſhould not live? He lives however to their reproach, whom they might have left untouch'd, without any loſs of their Honour.

2. *Hannibal* alſo by ſtrangling in the ſmoak and ſteam of Baths the *Nucerini*, who upon his Faith given came out of an impregnable City; and by throwing the Senate of the *Aetrani* into Wells, while he profeſs'd War againſt the People of *Rome* and *Italy*, did he not wage a more ſevere war againſt Faith and Honeſty? making uſe of lies and deceits, as of famous and noble Arts. By which means, though he might have otherwiſe left a real fame behinde him, it is now to be queſtion'd which was moſt eminent, his Greatneſs or his Wickedneſs.

CHAP. VII.

Of Seditions.

The Roman *People againſt*	*The* Roman *Souldiers againſt*
1. C. Marius, *6 times Coſ.*	1. Gratidius *the Legate.*
2. Q. Metellus *the Cenſor.*	2. Q. Pompey *the Conſul.*
3. A. Numius, *the Candidate.*	3. C. Carbo *the Legate.*
4. A. Sempronius Aſellio.	

But let the Acts of violent Sedition among the Gownmen, as well as of the Armed, be related.

1. *Lu. Equitius*, who feign'd himſelf to be the Son of *Ti. Graccbus*, and ſtood for the Tribuneſhip with *L. Saturninus* againſt Law, was by *C. Marius* in his ſixth Conſulſhip carried to the publick Goal. How-

ever, the People broke open the Gates of the Prison, and taking him out again, carried him upon their shoulders in publick triumph.

2. The same person, because *Q. Metellus* the Censor refus'd to admit him into the Roll for the Son of *Gracchus*, endeavoured to have stoned him to death, affirming that *Gracchus* had but three Sons. Of which one serv'd in *Sardinia*, the second an Infant at *Præneste*, the third born at *Rome*, deceased after his Fathers death; neither ought the unknown rubbish of a noble Family to be remembred. When the improvident Rashness of the provok'd Multitude extended it self in the mean time impudently and audaciously against the Consulship and Censorship, and assail'd their Princes with all manner of Petulancy.

3. That was onely Madness; this a bloody Sedition. For the People compell'd *A. Numius*, the Competitor of *Saturninus*, nine Tribunes being created, and but one vacancy remaining for two Candidates, to flie to his own house: and then dragging him out from thence, slew him; that by the slaughter of an honest Citizen, they might make way for a pernicious Disturber to get into Authority.

4. The Consternation of the Creditors against *Sempronius Asellio* the Prætor, brake forth into a most intollerable Rage. Whom, because he undertook the cause of the Debts, being stirr'd up by *L. Cassius* the Tribune, they dragg'd from the Altar, as he was sacrificing before the Temple of Concord, and slew him in his Robes of Authority.

Of the Roman *Souldiers.*

1. The Sedition of Citizens is to be detested; but if we look into the Camp, an equal indignation will arise. When the Province of *Asia* was, by the *Sulpician*

pician Law, decreed to *C. Marius* a private person, to prosecute the War against *Mithridates*, the Souldiers slew *Gratidius*, sent by him to *L. Sulla* the Consul, to receive the Legions from him. Offended, without doubt, that they were to be commanded by a person of no Honour, that had served under a person of the highest Dignity. But who may endure a Souldier correcting the Decrees of the Commonalty with the Death of a Legate?

2. That in the behalf of a Consul so violently acted; this against a Consul. For when *Q. Pompey* Collegue of *Sylla* ventured to contend with *Cn. Pompey*, being sent to the Army by the command of the Senate, the Souldiers corrupted by the delusions of an ambitious Captain, fell upon him, as he was beginning to sacrifice, and slew him, as if he himself had been the Victime. And the Court, forced to give way to the Camp, durst not revenge so great a Crime.

3. That Army also was wickedly violent who kill'd *C. Carbo*, the Brother of *Carbo* thrice Consul, endeavouring to amend the loose Discipline of the Souldiers, crept in through the liberty of the Civil Wars; and rather chose to be contaminated with the greatest of Crimes, than to alter their loose and depraved Manners.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Raſhneſs.

1. P. Africanus *the Greater.*
2. C. Cæſar *twice Conſul.*
3. *The* Roman *Army.*

FORREIGNERS.

1. Hannibal.
2. *The People of* Athens.

SUddain alſo and vehement are the Inſtigations of Raſhneſs; by the ſtroaks whereof the minds of men are diſorder'd, not being able to foreſee their own dangers, nor proſecute the facts of others with a due conſideration.

1. For how raſhly did the Greater *Africanus* croſs the Sea out of *Spain*, with two Gallies of five Oars, to *Syphax* the King, truſting his own and his Countries ſafety in the faithleſs breaſt of one *Numidian*? So that in one moment it was a doubtful queſtion, whether *Scipio* ſhould be the Captive or the Conqueroour of *Syphax*.

2. The doubtful attempt alſo of *C. Cæſar* was protected by the Heavens. For impatient of the Legions croſſing from *Brundusium* to *Apollonia*, leaving the Banquet, out of a pretence of being ſick, he went aboard a ſmall Ship, and in a moſt rigorous Tempeſt ſteers out of the River into the very mouth of the *Adriatic* Sea; and commanding the Ship to keep her courſe, long toſſed by contrary Waves, at length he was forced to return.

3. Now what a moſt execrable Raſhneſs was that of the Souldiers? For they were the cauſe that *Albinus*, a perſon famous for his Nobility, Conditions, and

and great Honours, through falſe and vain ſuſpicions was ſtoned to death in the Camp. And, which admits of no excuſe, denied their Captain, praying and beſeeching, the power of anſwering for himſelf.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Therefore I wonder the leſs, that the ſevere and cruel *Hannibal* would not admit the guiltleſs Pilot to make his defence; who returning out of *Italy* from *Petilia*, not believing he could reach between *Italy* and *Sicily* ſo ſoon, killed the Pilot, thinking he had betrayed him. But at length, when he found what the Pilot had ſaid to be true, pardon'd him too late; when he could pay no reſpect to his Innocence, but that of a Sepulchre. And therefore in the midſt of a narrow and tempeſtuous Frith, ſtands an overlooking Statue, expos'd to the eyes of them that ſail to and fro, in remembrance of *Pelorium* and the *Punic* Raſhneſs.

2. The *Athenian* City was alſo mad to Raſhneſs, which put to death unheard ten of their chief Generals, returning from a noble Victory; and all becauſe they could not bury the ſlain Souldiers, through the tempeſtuouſneſs of the Sea: Puniſhing Neceſſity, when they ſhould have honoured Vertue.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of Errour.

1. *Of the* Roman *People.*
2. C. Cassius Longinus, *Proconsul.*
3. *The Guard of* Lartis Tolumnius *King of the* Veientes.

ERrour is next to Rashness: as equally prejudicial, so to them also it least knows: because it commits mistakes not willingly, but out of false imaginations; which being far spread in the breast of men, if I should omit it, I should be guilty of the Errour which I blame. Therefore let us recite a few Mistakes.

1. *C. Helvius Cinna*, Tribune of the People, returning home from *Cæsar's* Funeral, was torn by the hands of the People, mistaken for *Cornelius Cinna*, upon whom they thought to have spent their rage; provoked against him, because that being *Cæsar's* Kinsman, he had made an abusive Oration against him that was impiously slain. And so far irritated they were by the same Errour, that they carried the Head of *Helvius*, as if it had been the Head of *Cornelius*, fix'd upon a Pole, about the Funeral-pile of *Cæsar*. A cruel expiation of Duty and Mistake.

2. For Errour caused *C. Cassius* to punish himself. For in the midst of that various and unknown event to the Captains themselves, of the fight of four Armies at *Philippi*; *Titinius* the Centurion being sent by him in the Night to see in what condition *Brutus* was, while he fetch'd several compasses about, because the darkness of the Night did not suffer him to know whether

whether he met Foes or Friends, it was long before he return'd. *Cassius* therefore believing him to have been taken by the Enemy, and that they were absolute Masters of the field, hasten'd to end his life, when *Brutus*'s forces were in part safe, and Masters of the Enemies Camp. But the Courage of *Titinius* is not to be forgot, who stood a while astonish'd at the unexpected sight of his Captain wallowing in his own blood, then bursting into tears; *Though imprudently, General*, said he, *I was the cause of thy death; this imprudence shall not go unpunish'd; receive me a companion to thy fate*; and so saying, threw himself upon the liveless trunk, with his Sword up to the Hilts in his own Body: And intermixing blood with blood, they lay a double sacrifice, the one of Piety, the other of Errour.

3. But certainly Mistake did a great injury to the family of *Lartis Talumnius* King of the *Veientes*; who after he had through a lucky cast at Dice, cried to his Play-mate, *Kill*; the Guard, mistaking the word, fell upon the *Roman* Embassadours, and slew them, as they were just entring the Room; interpreting Play as a Command.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of Revenge.

In ROMANS.	FORRAIGNERS.
1. *Of the* Papyrian *Tribe of the* Tusculans *against* Polias.	1. Thamyris *and* Berenices *Queens.*
2. *Of the people of* Utica *against* Fabius Adrianus.	2. *Certain Youths of* Thessaly.

THe Stings of Revenge as they are sharp, so they are just, while they meditate to repay received Injuries. Of which a few Examples will serve.

1. *M. Flavius*, Tribune of the People, reported to the People against the *Tusculans*, that by their advice the *Privernates* and *Veliterni* would rebel. Who when they came to *Rome* in a most miserable and suppliant manner, with their Wives and Children, it hapned that all the rest of the Tribes being for Mercy, the *Polian* Tribe alone gave judgment that they should be first whipp'd, and then put to death; and the multitude of Women and Children to be sold for Slaves. For which reason the *Papyrian* Tribe, in which the *Tusculans* being received into the City, had a strong Vote, never made afterwards any Candidate of the *Polian* Tribe a Magistrate; that no Honour might come to that Tribe, which as much as in them lay, had endeavoured to deprive them of their Lives and Liberty.

2. But this Revenge both the Senate and the consent of all men approved. For when *Adrianus* had sordidly

ſordidly tyrannized over the *Roman* Citizens at *Utica*, and was therefore by them burnt alive; the matter was never queſtion'd in the City, nor any complaint made againſt it.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Famous Examples of Revenge were both Queens: *Thamyris*, who having cauſed the Head of *Cyrus* to be cut off, commanded it to be thrown into a Tub of humane Blood; upbraiding him with his inſatiable thirſt after Blood, and revenging upon him the Death of her Son, who was ſlain by him. And *Berenice*, who taking heavily the loſs of her Son, entrapped by the ſnares of *Laodice*, got arm'd into her Chariot, and following the Kings Life-guard-man that had done the Miſchief, after ſhe had miſs'd him with her Spear, ſhe fell'd him with a Stone; and driving her Horſes over his Body, rid directly through the bands of the adverſe party to the houſe where ſhe thought the body of the ſlain Child lay.

2. It is a hard thing to judge whether a juſt Revenge or not were the ruine of *Jaſon* of *Theſſaly*, preparing to make war againſt the King of *Perſia*. For he gave leave to *Taxillus* the Maſter of his Games, complaining that he had been abuſed by certain young men, that he ſhould either require thirty Drachma's from them, or to give them ten Stripes. Which laſt revenge when he uſed, they that were laſh'd, kill'd *Jaſon*; valuing the meaſure of the puniſhment by the pain of the Minde, and not of the Body. Thus by a ſmall provocation of ingenious Shame, a great Undertaking was ſubverted. Becauſe that in the opinion of *Greece*, there was as much expected from *Jaſon*, as from *Alexander*.

CHAP.

Chap. XI.

Of things naughtily said, and wickedly done.

ROMANS.

1. Tullia Servilia.
2. C. Fimbria *Tribune of the People.*
3. L. Catiline.
4. Magius Chilo.
5. C. Toranius.
6. Villius Annalis.
7. *The wife of* Vettius Salassus.

FORREIGNERS.

1. *Two* Spanish *Brothers.*
2. Mithridates *the King.*
3. Sariaster *the Son of* Tigranes.
4. L. Ælius Sejanus.

NOw because we pursue the good and bad things of humane Life, let us go on with what hath been naughtily said, and wickedly done.

1. But where shall I better begin than from *Tullia?* as being the ancientest in time, the wickedest and most monstrous Example of Impiety. Who, when her Charioteer, as she was riding in her Chariot, stopp'd his Horses; upon her enquiry finding that the dead body of her Father, *Servius Tullius*, lay in the way, caus'd the Charioteer to drive over it; that she might hasten to the embraces of *Tarquinius*, who had slain him. By which impious and shameful haste, she not only stain'd herself with eternal Infamy, but also the very Village it self, which was called, *The wicked Village*, after that.

2. Not so horrible was the Act and Saying of *C. Fimbria*; though consider'd by themselves, both very abominable. He had order'd it, that *Scævola* should be

be killed at the Funeral of *C. Marius*; whom after he found to be recovered of his Wound, he resolv'd to accuse to the People. Being then ask'd what he could say truely of him, whose conversation was not to be blamed; answered, that he would accuse him, *For not receiving the Dart any further into his Body.*

3. *L. Catiline*, *Cicero* saying in the Senate, that there was a great fire kindled by him; *I perceive it*, said he, *and if I could not quench it with Water, I would with Ruine.* What can we think, but that the stings of his Conscience moved him to finish the act of Parricide which he began?

4. The Breast of *Magius Chilo* was deeply troubled with Madness: Who with his own hand snatch'd away *Marcellus*'s Life that *Cæsar* had given him. For being an old Souldier under *Pompey*, he took it ill that any of *Pompey*'s friends should be preferr'd before him. For as he was upon his return from *Mitylene* to the City, he stabb'd him with a Dagger in the Port of *Athens*. An Enemy of Friendship, an Intercepter of divine Favour, and the Ignominy of publick Faith, which had promis'd the Life of so great a person.

5. To this Cruelty, to which there seems no addition to be made, *C. Cæsius Toranius* exceeds in heinousness of Parricide. For adhering to the Faction of the Triumviri, he described to the Centurions the marks, the age and lurking places of his proscrib'd Father, a famous person, and of the Prætorian Order, to the end they might finde him out. The Old-man more concerned for the life and advancement of his Son, than for the remainder of his days, enquired of the Centurions whether his Son were safe, and whether he pleas'd his Generals. One of which made answer, *Being shewed by him*, said he, *whom thou so much lovest, we are come to be thy Executioners*; and presently ran him through. Thus fell that unhappy man,

more miserable in the author of his Death, than in his Death it self.

6. Which was the bitter Lot of *L. Villius Annalis*. Who coming into the Field to the choice of his Son for Quæstor, and knowing himself to be proscrib'd, flew to his Protection. But the wickedness of the Youngman was the cause, that he was not safe in his Protection: For he deliver'd him up to the Souldiers, that followed his steps, to be slain in his presence. Twice a Parricide, by Counsel, and beholding the slaughter.

7. *Vettius Sallassus* proscrib'd, had an end no less bitter; whom being hidden, what shall I say, whether his Wife delivered him to be slain, or slew him her self? For how can we think the Crime less, where the hand is only absent?

FORRAIGNERS.

1. But this fact, because Forraign, shall be more calmly deliver'd. *Scipio Africanus* celebrating the Memory of his Father and his Uncle at *New Carthage* with a Gladiatory gift, two Kings Sons, their Father being dead, enter'd upon the Sand; promising there to fight for the Kingdom, that their Combat might make the spectacle more famous. Them when *Scipio* admonish'd rather to contend in words than blows who should reign, and that the elder submitted to his advice; the younger, trusting to his strength, persisted in his Madness. But the issue of the Combat was, that the more obstinate Impiety was punished with Death.

2. *Mithridates* much more wickedly; who not only made war with his Brother, but with his own Father himself for the Kingdom. Wherein, how he got assistants to help him, or durst invoke the gods, is to me a wonder.

3. But

3. But why ſhould we wonder at a thing as not uſual with thoſe people? When *Sarleſter* ſo conſpir'd with his friends againſt *Tigranes* his Father, King of *Armenia*, that all of them let themſelves blood in their right hands, and drank it up. Hardly were ſuch a bloody Conſpiracy to be endur'd for the ſafety of a Parent.

4. But why do I ſtay upon theſe Examples, when I ſee all Villanies exceeded by the thought of one Parricide? And therefore I am tranſported to dilacerate it with a pious, rather than ſtrong affection. For who, the faith of Friendſhip being extinct, can finde words enough to ſend to the Abyſs of due execration the perſon that endeavoured the ſubverſion of all Mankinde? Couldſt thou, more cruel than the Cruelty of Barbariſm it ſelf, have rul'd the reins of the *Roman* Empire, which our Prince and Parent governs with his protecting Arm? Or while thou wert ſo mad, could the world have remained ſteady? Thy purpoſe was to have repreſented the mad intentions of thy fury, and to have outdone the City taken by the *Gauls*, the ſlaughter of the three hundred Noblemen, the Battle of *Allia*, the *Scipio's* ruined in *Spain*, *Thraſymene*, *Canna*, and *Æmathia*, reaking with Civil Blood. But the Eyes of the Gods were awake, the Stars were alſo watchful; the Altars, Beds and Temples were full of the preſent Numen. There was nothing permitted to grow drowſie, that was to watch over the head and ſafety of *Auguſtus*. And in the firſt place the Author and Defender of our ſafety by his divine wiſdome provided, leſt his famous works ſhould have been buried in the ruine of the whole world. Therefore Peace remains, the Laws are in force, and the order of publick and private Duty ſtands faſt. For he that endeavoured to ſubvert all theſe, by violating the bonds of Friendſhip, trod under

foot with all his Family by the *Roman* People, hath now his punishment in Hell, if he deserve to be there.

CHAP. XII.

Of Deaths not Vulgar.

ROMANS.

1. Tullus Hostilius *King.*
2. *The two Mothers.*
3. Mv. Juventius Thalna.
4. Q. Lutelius Catulus.
5. L. Cornelius Merula.
6. Herennius Siculus.
7. Licinius Macer.
8. Cornelius Gallus *and* T. Hæterius.

FORRAIGNERS.

1. Coma *the Brother of* Cleon *Captain of the Fugitives.*
2. Æschylus *the Poet.*
3. Homer.
4. Euripides.
5. Sophocles.
6. Philemon.
7. Pindarus.
8. Anacreon.
9. Milo *the* Crotoniate.
10. Polydamas *of* Syracuse.

THe first and last day contain the condition of humane Life; for it is of great concern with what lucky Omens it begins, and how it ends. And therefore we accompt him happy that begins his Life with prosperity, and ends it with quietness. The middle course of time is sometimes rugged, sometimes calm; always deceiving hope, while we wish it long, and yet idly consume it. For by using it well, a short time becomes long, exceeding the multitude of years in the number of famous actions. But not to wander farther,

farther, let us mention those that have died no Vulgar Deaths.

1. *Tullus Hostilius* the King was struck with Thunder, and burnt together with his whole Palace. A singular Lot of Fate, by which it happen'd, that the Pillar of the City, taken away in the City it self, was reduced into that condition by the flame of Heaven, that the Citizens might not have the honour of bestowing the last Funeral Rites upon it, the Palace being both Funeral-Pile and Sepulcher.

2. 'Tis a strange thing that Joy should do the same as Thunder; and yet it did. For news being brought of the slaughter at *Thrasymene*; One Mother meeting her Son safe in the Gate, expir'd in his arms; another upon the false news of her Sons death, sitting melancholy at home, at the first sight of him, when he return'd, fell down dead. An unusual accident, that they whom Grief could not, Joy should kill.

3. But I wonder the less because they were Women. *Juventius Thalna*, Colleague with *T. Gracchus* the Consul, sacrificing in *Corsica*, which he had newly subdued, and receiving Letters that Supplications were decreed by the Senate, as he was intently reading them, a mist rose before his eyes, and he fell down dead before the hearth. What can we think, but that too much Joy was the cause of his Death? What if *Numantia* or *Carthage* had been deliver'd to him!

4. *C. Catulus*, a Captain of a greater Spirit, and Partaker with *Marius* in the *Cimbrian* Triumph, by order of the Senate, had an end more violent. For by the same *Marius* afterwards commanded to death, covered himself up in his Bed, heated vehemently hot, and daub'd with new Lime, and so stifled himself.

5. At which time also *L. Cornelius Merula*, of Consular Dignity, and Priest of *Jupiter*, that he might

not be a ſcorn to the Inſolency of the Victors, opening his Veins in the Temple of *Jove*, avoided the denunciation of his Death.

6. A ſharp and ſtout end was that of *Herennius* the *Sicilian*, who was both a Friend and Southſayer to *C. Gracchus*. For being for that reaſon carried to Priſon, at the very threſhold of Ignominy he knock'd out his own Brains againſt the poſt of the door, and there died: One degree more ſwift than Publick Juſtice, or the hand of the Executioner.

7. As violent was the End of *C. Licinius Macer*, a Prætorian, the Father of *Calvus*, being guilty of Bribery; while the Suffrages were ſeparating, went into the place of Judgment, and ſeeing *M. Cicero*, who aſſembled the Judges, preparing to plead, he ſent to tell him, that *he died not condemned, but guilty, and that his eſtate could not be confiſcated*; and having ſo ſaid, ſtopping his Mouth and Noſtrils with his Handkerchief, and holding his Breath, he prevented his puniſhment by Death. Which being known, *Cicero* forbore to pronounce Sentence. Thus an Illuſtrious perſon freed himſelf from an unuſual ſort of Death, from the ſhame of Condemnation, and his Family from Want.

8. This a ſtout Death, the next ridiculous. For *Cornelius Gallus*, and *T. Haterius* a *Roman* Knight, expir'd at their Venery. But what imports it to reprehend the Fate of thoſe, whom not their Luſt, but the condition of humane frailty brought to an end? For the end of Life being expos'd to various and occult Cauſes, ſometimes certain accidents gain the title of Supreme Fate, when they rather happen at the time of Death, than any way haſten it.

FORREIGNERS.

1. The Deaths of Strangers are alſo very remarkable;

able; as that of *Coma*, the Brother of *Cleon* the greatest Captain of Thieves in his time. For he being brought to *Rupilius* the Consul after the taking of *Enna*, which the Thieves kept, being examined touching the force and designes of the Fugitives, resuming time to collect himself, he covered his Head, with his Knees bent, and holding his Breath, he expir'd in the hands of his Keepers, and in the sight of the supreme Command. Let the miserable torment themselves, to whom it is more profitable to dye than live, with timorous and dubious counsel how to end their Lives: Let them sharpen their Knives, temper Poysons, take Halters, view Precipices, as if it required some preparation or exact method to separate the strict society of Soul and Body. *Coma* made use of none of these, but his Soul being shut up in his breast, found its own way.

2. The Death of *Æschylus*, though not voluntary, may be however related for the novelty. For walking out of the Town where he liv'd in *Sicily*, he sate down in a convenient place; upon whom an Eagle bearing a Tortoise, deceived by the baldness of his head, let fall the Tortoise to break it, that he might come at the flesh. And by that blow the beginning of a higher Tragedy was stifled in the birth.

3. Nor was the cause of *Homer*'s Death vulgar: Who is said to have died for grief, because he could not answer a question which the Fishers put to him.

4. More sad was the destiny of *Euripides*. For returning to the house where he lay in *Macedonia*, from supping with King *Archelaus*, he was torn to pieces by Dogs. A fate too severe for so great a Wit.

5. *Sophocles* being very old, and having rehears'd a Tragedy at the publick place for trial of Wit, after a long dispute remaining at length Victor by one voice, died for joy that he had won.

6. *Philemon* was carried off by immoderate laughter. For an Ass eating certain Figs that were prepared for him, and set before him, he call'd the boy to drive him away: who not coming till the Ass had eaten them all up; *Because thou comest so late*, said he, *prethee give the Ass some Wine too*; and prosecuting his Jeast with an intemperancy of Laughter, stopp'd up the passages of the Spirits.

7. But *Pindarus* laying his head in the School on a Boy's lap, who was his only delight, and composing himself for rest, was not known to be dead, till the Master of the Exercising-place, where he lay, going to shut the doors, sought in vain to wake him. Certainly the same favour of the Gods granted him his Poetic Eloquence, and such an easie Death.

8. As happen'd also to *Anacreon*, though he had outlived the age of man, whom, cherishing his old age with the juice of Raisins, the more thick moisture of one Grape sticking in his Throat, carried off.

9. I will adde those, whose Exit and Intent were alike. *Milo* the *Crotoniate*, as he was travelling, seeing an Oak cleft with Wedges, trusting to his strength, went to the Oak, and thought with his hands to pull one from the other. But the Wedges falling out, the Oak closed again, and there kept him, till with all the Palms and Victories he had won, the wild beasts came and devoured him.

10. *Polydamus* also, the Wrattler, being forced by streis of weather to shelter himself in a Cave, which being weakned and ready to fall, while his Companions ran away, he only stood still, thinking to have upheld the weight with his Shoulders. But being oppress with a weight more powerful than humane strength, the shelter which he sought from the shower, became the Sepulcher of his own mad fate.

These

These Examples may teach us, that Vigour of Minde and vast Strength of Body are not always companions. Nature not affording two such great Benefits together, that the same person should at once be the most strong and the most wise.

Chap. XIII.

Of Desire of Life.

Romans.	Forraigners.
1. Mu. Aquilius *Consular Legate.*	1. Xerxes *King of* Persia.
2. Cn. Carbo *thrice Consul.*	2. Massiniſſa *King of the* Numidians.
3. D. Junius Brutus *Proconsul.*	3. Alexander *King of the* Pheræans.
	4. Dionyſius *the Tyrant.*

NOw becauſe we have touch'd upon ſome caſual, ſome couragious, ſome raſh terminations of Life; we may now adde ſome that are low-ſpirited and effeminate. That by the compariſon it may appear, how Death may be ſometimes not only more ſtoutly, but more prudently deſired.

1. *Mu. Aquilius*, when he might have bravely died, choſe rather to be an ignominious ſlave to *Mithridates*. Whether ſhall we ſay he beſt deſerved the *Pontic* puniſhment, or the *Roman* Empire? Since he permitted private Ignominy to be the publick Shame.

2. *Cn. Carbo* is a great blot to the *Latine* Annals, who in his third Conſulſhip, being ſent to be put to death in *Sicily* by *Pompey*, humbly and with tears in his eyes begg'd of the Souldiers, that he might have time

time to eaſe himſelf before he ſuffered, that he might enjoy that miſerable moment of a pitiful Life: and ſo long he delayed, till his head was ſordidly cut off as he ſate. The words relating ſo much Puſillanimity, are at variance among themſelves, neither friendly to ſilence, becauſe they deſerve not to be conceal'd, nor familiar to rehearſal, when the ſubject nauſeates.

2. *Brutus* with how much ſhame did he buy an unhappy and ſmall moment of Life! For being taken by *Furius*, whom *Antonius* had ſent to apprehend him, not only withdrew his Neck from the Sword; but being admoniſh'd to hold ſtill, he ſwore in theſe words, *As I live, I will hold it forth.* O contemptible delay of fate! O ſtolid and ſilly Oath! But theſe are thy deliriums, out of an immoderate deſire of the ſweets of Life, expelling that meaſure of Reaſon, which teaches to love Life, yet not to fear Death.

FORREIGNERS.

1. Thou the ſame ſweetneſs of Life didſt compel *Xerxes* to ſhed tears for the armed Youth of all *Aſia*, of which there would be none remaining in leſs than an hundred years. Who thereby ſeem'd to me, while he bewail'd others, to deplore his own condition. Happy rather in the multitude of his Riches, than in the deep Reflexion of his thoughts. For who but meanly prudent would bewail that he was born mortal?

2. I will relate others now, who having others in ſuſpicion, ſought to have a more exquiſite care of themſelves. Nor will I begin from the moſt miſerable, but one that was accompted the moſt happy among a few. *Maſſiniſſa* the King repoſing but little faith in Men, ſecur'd himſelf with a guard of Dogs. What meant ſo large an Empire? What ſo great a number

number of Children? What the *Roman* Friendſhip ſo ſtrictly allied to him? If to ſecure all theſe, he thought nothing more powerful than the barking and biting of Dogs?

3. *Alexander* was more unhappy than this King; whoſe minde on the one ſide Love, on the other Fear tormented. For being infinitely enamour'd of his Wife *Thebe*, going to her from a Banquet into her Chamber, he caus'd a Barbarian Fugitive to go before him with his Sword drawn. Nor did he put himſelf to bed, till he was diligently ſearch'd by thoſe about him. A mix'd Punithment, through the anger of the Gods, that he could neither command his Luſt nor his Fear. Of whoſe Fear the cauſe and end was the ſame. For *Thebe* ſlew *Alexander*, provoked by his Adultery.

4. *Dionyſius* Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, how long a ſtory might he make of this fear? Who prolonged a Tyranny of two and forty years, in this manner: He removed his Friends, and ſubſtituted in their places men brought from the moſt fierce of Nations, and ſtout Servants pick'd out of wealthy Families for his Guard; and out of fear of a Barber, taught his Daughters to ſhave: into whoſe hands, when they came to ripe Age, not daring to commit Iron, he order'd his Beard and Hair to be burnt off with the flame of the skins of Walnuts. Nor was he a more ſecure Husband than he was a Father. For having married at the ſame time *Ariſtomache* of *Syracuſe*, and *Doris* of *Locris*, he never lay with either till they were ſearched. And he entrench'd his Bed, like a Camp, into which he went over a wooden Bridge, leaving the outward Chamber-door open to his Guards, and carefully locking the inner himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Similitude of Form.

ROMANS.

1. Cn. Pompey *the Great, with* Vibius *and* Publicius.
2. Cn. Pompey Strabo *with* Menogenes *the Cook.*
3. P. Scipio Nasica *with* Serapius.
4. P. Lentulus *and* Qu. Metellus *Consuls, with* Spinther *and* Pamphilus *the Players.*
5. M. Messala *and* C. Curio *with* Menoges *and* Bubulcius *Scenics.*

FORREIGNERS.

1. Antiochus *King of* Syria *with* Artemon.
2. Hybras *the Orator with a Servant of the* Cymæans.
3. *A* Sicilian *Fisher with a* Roman *Prætor.*

COncerning the likeness of Countenance and Proportion, the more Learned dispute subtily. And some are of opinion, that it answers to the original and composition of the blood. Nor do they draw a mean Argument from other Creatures, which are like those that beget them. Others deny this to be the Constitution of Nature, but an Accidental Chance of Conception. And therefore many times the beautiful bring forth deformed, the strong produce weak Children. But because the Question is doubtful, let us produce a few Examples of noted Likenesses.

1. *Vibius* of a good Family, and *Publicius* the Freed-man were so like *Pompey* the Great, that changing their condition, they might have been saluted for him, and he for them. Certainly, wherever *Vibius* or *Publicius* came, all mens eyes were upon them; every one

one remarking the form of a mighty Citizen in persons of mean degree. Which kind of Mockery became almost hereditary to him.

2. For his Father also was so exceeding like *Menegenes* his Cook, that a man fierce in Courage and potent in Arms could not avoid that sordid name upon himself.

3. *Cornelius Scipio* a young man, illustrious for his Nobility, abounding in many famous Sirnames of his Family, could not scape the servile Appellation of *Serapio*; being so like a Killer of the Sacrifices who was of that Name. Nor could the Probity of his Life, nor the Antiquity of his Family, any way prevail against the Scandal.

4. A most generous Colleagueship was that of *Lentulus* and *Metellus*. Yet both were look'd upon as Players, so like they were to two Histrio's upon the Stage. For the one got the sirname of *Spinther*, an Actor of the Second Parts; and if the other had not had the sirname of *Nepos* from his Ancestors, he had had the sirname of *Pamphilus*, an Actor of Third Parts, whom he so much resembled.

5. But *M. Messala*, of Consular Dignity, was forced to receive the sirname of *Menogenes*; and *Curio*, abounding in wealth, that of *Barbuleius*: the one by reason of the likeness of their Faces; the other, because of the likeness of their Gate.

FORREIGNERS.

1. These are enough for Domesticks, because they are particularly remarkable in reference to the persons, and not obscure in relation to common knowledge. There was one *Artemon* by name, and related to the Royal Family, who was affirm'd to be very like to King *Antiochus*: Whom *Laodice* having murder'd her Husband, to conceal the fact, laid in her Husbands Bed,

Bed, to counterfeit the King as sick. And by his Countenance and Voice deceived all people that were admitted to see him, and believed that *Laodice* and her Children were recommended by dying *Antiochus* to their care.

2. *Hybreas* of *Mylasa*, an Oratour of a smart and copious Eloquence, was so like a Servant of the *Cymæans*, that swept the Wrastling-School, that all the eyes of *Asia* took him for his own Brother; so like he was in all the Lineaments of Face and Members.

3. But he that was in *Sicily* so like the Prætor, was of a petulant disposition. For the Proconsul saying, *That he wonder'd how he should come to be so like him, when his Father had never been in that Countrey; But mine*, answered the other, *went frequently to* Rome. Revenging by that means the Injury done to his Mothers Chastity, by a Suspition thrown upon the Mother of the Proconsul: yet more boldly than became a man that was under the Lash and Axe of Authority.

Chap. XV.

Of those who by lying have thrust themselves into Families which they never belong'd to.

1. L. Equitius Firmanus.
2. Erophilus *the Farrier.*
3. *The false son of* Octavia Augustus's *Sister.*
4. *The false son of* Sertorius.
5. Trebellius Calca.
6. C. Asinius Dio, *false.*

Forreigners.

1. Rubria *of* Millain *false.*
2. Ariarathes *the false King of* Cappadocia.

THe former was a tolerable piece of Impudence, and only dangerous to himself. That which follows is no way to be endur'd, and not only privately, but publickly dangerous.

1. For

1. For that I my not omit *Equitius*, a Monster out of *Firmum* in *Piceni*, whose manifest lye in counterfeiting himself the Son of *T. Gracchus*, by the turbulent mistake of the Vulgar, was defended by the power of the Tribune.

2. *Herophilus* the Farrier, by claiming *Marius* seven times Consul for his Grandfather, so set himself forth, that most of the Colonies of the Veterane Souldiers, and noble free Towns, adopted him for their Patron. Nay when *Cæsar*, having overcome young *Pompey* in *Spain*, had admitted the people into his Gardens, he was saluted in the next space between the Pillars by the Multitude. And had not *Cæsar* prudently prevented the storm, the Commonwealth had suffer'd as much by him as by *Equitius*. But being banished out of *Italy* by him, after he was taken into Heaven, the other return'd into the City, and durst attempt to plot the killing of the Senate. For which reason being by the command of the Fathers put to Death in Prison, he had the late reward of a quick intention to do mischief.

3. Neither was the Deity of the World, *Augustus* himself, ruling the world, exempt from this kinde of Imposture: There being a certain person that durst to affirm himself born of the womb of his most dear Sister *Octavia*; saying, that for the infirmity of his body, he was put out to the person that bred him, and his Son taken in in his stead. Thus at the same time endeavouring to deprive a most sacred Family of the Memory of their true Blood, and to contaminate it with the contagion of a Lye. But while he soar'd to the utmost degree of boldness, he was by *Cæsar* condemn'd to the Gallies.

4. There was also one who affirm'd himself to be the Son of *Q. Sertorius*, whose Wife would by no means be compell'd to acknowledge him.

5. *Trebellius*

5. *Trebellius Celer*, how stedfastly did he justifie himself to be *Clodius*! And while he contended for his Estate, was so favourably receiv'd by the Court of Judicature, that the tumult of the people would hardly give way for a just and legal Sentence. However, the Constancy of the Judges would not give way, either to the Calumnies of the Claimer, nor the fury of the People.

6. Much more stoutly was that done by him, who when *L. Sylla* rul'd in chief, brake into the house of *Asinius Dio*, and expell'd his Son out of doors, clamouring that it was he that was *Dio*'s Son. But when *Cæsar*'s Equity had freed the Commonwealth from *Sylla*'s Tyranny, a juster Prince steering the helm of Government, the Impostor died in Jail.

FORREIGNERS.

1. While the same Prince governed, the Rashness of a Woman was punish'd at *Milan*, upon account of the same Imposture. For attesting herself to be one *Rubria*, and claiming by that means an Estate that belong'd not to her; though she wanted neither favour nor Witnesses, yet the invincible Constancy of *Cæsar* disappointed her of her hopes.

2. The same person compell'd to just punishment a Barbarian, affecting the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, and affirming himself to be *Ariarathes*, who was certainly known to have been slain by *Mark Antony*; though at the same time he had deluded most of the Cities and People of the East.

FINIS.